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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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POE AS A LITERARY CRITIC

BY JOHN ESTEN COOKE

Edited with an introduction and notes

By N. BRYLLION FAGIN

This essay by the Virginia novelist John Esten Cooke, written a century ago, has just been published for the first time. It was discovered in a private collection and has now been edited with an introduction and notes by N. Bryllion Fagin of the John Hopkins University. Written immediately after Poe's death, the essay contains a vivid sketch of Poe as a lecturer and reflects contemporary opinion on Poe's life and work. This is a rare item of interest to all Poe collectors, libraries, and teachers of American literature. A facsimile of a page of the MS. is printed as a frontispiece. Price \$1.00.

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CERTAIN THEOLOGICAL CONVENTIONS IN MANNYNG'S TREATMENT OF THE COMMANDMENTS

The section of *Handlyng Synne* dealing with the Ten Commandments frequently reflects commonplace patterns of medieval theology. It is the purpose of this article to call attention to certain of these patterns. No attempt is made to present a history of any given convention; I wish merely to show that the conventions existed. Their recognition, I believe, contributes materially to an understanding and appreciation of the text. For the purposes of this paper, matters pertaining to pastoral rather than doctrinal theology are deliberately disregarded.

Under the First Commandment, Mannyng included, in addition to the obvious sin of forsaking God, much material on witchcraft, superstition, and dreams. Indeed, most of his discussion is devoted to these matters. They had long been associated with the commandment when Mannyng wrote, so that he could not very well have omitted them. St. Augustine, for example, had been not only very explicit but peculiarly emphatic about this matter:

Dicit tibi, *Vnus est Deus Tuus, unum Deum cole*. Tu vis dimisso uno Deo tanquam legitimo viro animae, fornicari per multa daemonia: et quod est gravius, non quasi aperte deserens et repudians, sicut apostata faciunt; sed tanquam manens in domo viri tui admittis adulteros: id est, tanquam Christianus non dimittis Ecclesiam, consulis mathematicos, aut aruspices, aut augures, aut maleficos; quasi de viri domo non recedens, adultera anima, et manens in ejus conjugio fornicaris.¹

In the thirteenth century, there were various ways of interpreting

¹ Sermo IX, Migne, *PL*, 38, c. 76.

the commandment. William Peraldus, author of the famous *Summa de vitiis*, spoke of three ways in which one might violate it:

Tripliciter autem facit quis contra Primum Mandatum . . . Primo ille qui magis allii quam Deo, ut qui vetulis sortilegis magis credit quam ministro dei. . . Secundo facit contra hoc praeceptum, qui plus confidit in creatura quam in creatore. . . Item contra hoc praeceptum faciunt qui plus amant aliquid terrenum, divitias vel delitias quam Deum.²

A similar threefold division, somewhat closer to the general pattern of exposition in *Handlyng Synne*, appears in the *De decem praeceptis* of St. Bonaventura:

Dico igitur, quod in primo verbo: *Non habebis deos alienos coram me*, prohibentur omnes profanae *pactiones daemonum*, sive fiant per incantationes verborum, sive per inscriptiones characterum vel imaginum, sive per immolationes sacrificiorum. In istis tribus consistunt omnes partes artis magicae. . . In secundo verbo: *Non facies sculptile*, prohibentur omnes falsae et superstitiosae adinventiones errorum. Et notandum hic, quod omnis error nihil aliud est nisi *fictio mentis*. Errorem autem facit phantasia obnubilans rationem et faciens videri esse quod non est. . . In tertio verbo: *Neque facies similitudinem eorum quae in caelis sunt* etc., prohibetur omnes perversae *appretiones mundalium naturam*.³

Some of the details of Mannyng's discussion may have been devised to reflect local practices, but the general subject matter of magic, superstition, and *fictio mentis* was a part of traditional theology.

At the beginning of his discussion of the Second Commandment, Mannyng makes a distinction between lying, which is sinful, and unwittingly transmitting an untruth, which is not sinful:

Y aske 'wheþyr ys grettyr eye,
A lesyng, or a fals tale seye.'
Here mayst þou lerne a queyntyse,
To knowe of boþe þe ryzt asyse;—
Þou mayst here and beleue a fals
Þat is seyð of a-noþer als,
And telle hyt forþ þe same wyse,
Ryght as he vn-to þe seyse,
And 3yf þou wene þat þat sawe ys ryzt

² *Sermones*, Pars I, Sermo LXXXV, in Wm. of Auvergne, *Opera*, Orléans, 1674, II, 117.

³ *Collatio* II, 22 ff., *Opera*, Quaracchi, 1882-1902, v, 514-515.

Pou3t hyt be fals, þou hast no plyzt;
 For, þyn ynwyȝt, þe shal saue,
 Pou wenyst to seye weyl, no plyzt to haue.
 A lesyng haþ weyl wers wey:
 Þe tokyn of a leysyng y shal þe sey.
 whan ys a lesyng, but þan ys hyt
 whan hyt ys seyȝd aȝens ynwyȝt;
 Sopely to sey, a lesyng ys
 whan þou wost þat þou seyst mys.⁴

The form of this passage obviously reflects a scholastic *quaestio*, but the distinction itself is at least as old as St. Augustine, who was the fountainhead of much medieval theology. He wrote:

Quid autem intersit inter falli et mentiri, breviter dico. Fallitur qui putat verum esse quod dicit, et quia verum putat, ideo dicit. Hoc autem quod dicit qui fallitur, si verum esset, non falleretur: si non solum verum esset, sed etiam verum esse sciret, non mentiretur. Fallitur ergo, quia falsum est, et verum putat; dicit autem non nisi quia verum putat. Error est in humana infirmitate, sed non est in conscientiae sanitate. Quisquis autem falsum putat esse et pro vero asserit, ipse mentitur.⁵

Mannyng goes on to discuss false swearing and oaths, topics which we should naturally expect to find under the Second Commandment, but there is one passage which has nothing to do with these things:

Ȝyf þou trowest þat god was nat byfore
 Or he was of þe maydyn bore;
 Or Ȝyf þou trowyst þat he was noght
 Before or þe worlde was wroght;
 Ȝyf þou wene þat verement,
 Hyt ys aȝens þys comaundement.
 God was euer wyþ outyn bygynnyng
 Ar þe worlde, or man, or ouþer þyng.
 Ȝyf þou trowyst þat hys manhede
 Haþ no powere with þe godhede,
 Repente þe, þou art yn synne,
 For ydylnes hast þou hys name ynne;
 Ȝyf þou trowest þat he may naght
 Yn heuene and erþe hys wyl haue wroȝt,
 Þe manhede þat toke flesshe & bone,
 Þat with þe godhede ys al one;—

⁴ Ed. Furnivall, *EETS OS* 119, ll. 617-634.

⁵ Sermo cxxxiii, Migne, *PL*, 38, c. 738.

But þou repente þe byfore þy fyn,
 Þou mayst be lore, seyþ seynt Austyn.⁶

Again, "seynt Austyn" furnishes the key to the matter:

Dicitur tibi, *Ne accipias in vanum nomen Dei tui*. Ne existimes creaturam esse Christum, quia pro te suscepit creaturam; et tu contemnis eum qui aequalis est Patri, et unum cum Patre.⁷

Although this interpretation of the commandment may seem strange to the modern reader, it was once quite common among theologians. Thus Rabanus Maurus wrote:

Secundum praeceptum pertinet ad Filium, dum dicit: "Non assumes" Id est, ne aestimes creaturam esse Filium Dei, quoniam omnis creatura vanitati subjecta est, sed credas eum aequalem esse Patri. . . .⁸

Almost the same words were employed by one of the earliest scholastics, Anselm of Laon:

Secundum preceptum ad Filium [pertinet] quod tale est: Ne assumas . . . id est, ne credas Filium dei tantum esse hominem, quod nomen dei in vanum assumere est.⁹

Hugh of St. Victor distinguished between the "literal" and the "mystic" or allegorical interpretations of the commandment:

Hoc [Exod. 20] ad simplicem litterae sensum taliter intelligi debet, ut nomen Dei homo in vanum non assumat, id est, vel ad mendacium confirmandum, vel ad idolum venerandum, scilicet, ut neque idola nomine divino honoret, neque falsitati nomen Dei associet. Mystice autem nomen Dei in vanum assumere, est Filium Dei visibilem per humanitatem factum creaturam existimare. In vanum quippe nomen Dei assumit, qui Filium Dei aeternum ex tempore coepisse credit.¹⁰

The same distinction between the two interpretations appears in the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard.¹¹ It is clear, then, that the passage just quoted from *Handlyng Synne* is not a digression but

⁶ Ll. 647-664.

⁷ Sermo IX, Migne, *PL*, 38, cols. 76-77.

⁸ *Ennaratio super Deuteronomium*, Lib. I, c. XI, Migne, *PL*, 108, c. 862.

⁹ *Sententie*, ed. F. P. Bliemetzrieder, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters* XVIII (1919), 96.

¹⁰ *Institutiones in decalogum legis Dominicae*, Migne, *PL*, 176, c. 11. Cf. the *Summa Sententiarum*, no longer attributed to Hugh, *ibid.*, c. 121.

¹¹ Lib. III, Dist. XXXVII, Cap. II, in Bonaventura, *Opera*, III, 810. The editors attribute the "mystic" interpretation to Isidore of Seville.

an essential element in the theological interpretation of the commandment.

Under the Fifth Commandment, Mannyng discusses various kinds of homicide. First, there are ways of actually bringing about death: murder, imprisonment, mutilation. Then it is said that failure to feed the poor constitutes spiritual slaughter. False indicters, those whose counsel or command brings about death, and false judges are said to be murderers. Those who turn others from righteousness, detractors, and evil speakers are also guilty of homicide. What Mannyng says about detractors is especially interesting. The backbiter kills three persons at once:

Bakbyter, þurgh ryght resun,
Of þre mennys deþ ys enchesun.
Þou wost weyl, with-outyn les,
þe bakbyter fyrst hym self sles;
He slekþ hym þat trowyþ hys lesyng,
whan he forþ beryþ hys bakbytyng;
And hym algate þat hyt ys on leyde,
He ys slayn.¹²

That this was a popular theological cliché is attested by its appearance in a medieval *florilegium*, where it is attributed to St. Bernard:

Lingua detractoris gladius triceps qui uno ictu tres animas interficit, primo eum detrahit, secundo de quo detrahit, tertio eum libenter detractorem audit.¹³

But to return to the general content of this section of *Handlyng Synne*, it may be said that the materials employed by Mannyng fall readily into the conventional threefold division of the commandment. It was held that homicide may be committed in three ways: "*manu, lingua, consensu*." In *Handlyng Synne* the order of the last two is transposed, but it is not difficult to see that these rubrics control the details. For a statement of the theological principle, we may again turn to Anselm of Laon:

Manu fit, cum quis alium actualiter uita privat, uel in locum mortis, ubi uita priuetur, precipitat, ut in carcerem, uel in alium quemlibet locum talem. Lingua fit duobis modis, id est, precipiendo uel suggerendo. . . . Con-

¹² Ll. 1523-1530.

¹³ *Bibliotheca Casinensis*, Monte Cassino, 1873-1894, iv (*Florilegium*), 276.

sensu similiter duobus modis fit homicidium, uel dum mortem alterius desideramus et cupimus, uel dum eum a morte liberare possumus, uitam eius negligimus, id est, adiutorium non impendimus.¹⁴

The Sixth Commandment was customarily given a very general interpretation. For example, Peter Lombard wrote:

Tertium ¹⁵ est, *non moechaberis*: id est, ne cuilibet miscearis, excepto foedere matrimonii.¹⁶

That Mannyng's treatment of this matter is not full of rather shocking details is due to his expressed purpose to avoid "*priuities*" characteristic of some penitential works.¹⁷ But in spite of this restriction, the very general character of the current theological interpretation allowed Mannyng, or the author of his source, considerable freedom in the choice of materials. The discussion opens with a problem which was later to receive much attention from Chaucer:

God made womman man to gyue,
To be hys helpe yn hys lyue;
he made here nat, man to greue,
No to be mayster, but felaw leue,
No nat ouer logh, no nat ouer hy,
But euene felaw to be hym by;
And he, mayster, lorde, & syre;
To hys wyl she shal meke hyre.¹⁸

A certain ambiguity is evident in the passage: woman was made not too low, not too high, but equal; at the same time, her husband should always be "master, lord, and sire." Perhaps the contradiction is more apparent than real; in any case, I do not pretend to be able to solve it. It is easy to show, however, that both attitudes, if there are two attitudes, were theologically quite sound. The equality of woman, perhaps merely social, was thought to be evident in the procedure followed in her creation. As Peter Lombard tells us,

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 96. Cf. the *Summa Sententiarum*, Tract. iv, Cap. iv, Migne, *PL*, 176, c. 122.

¹⁵ That is, the third commandment of the second table.

¹⁶ *Sententiae*, Lib. III, Dist. XXXVII, Cap. iv, *op. cit.*, III, 811. Lombard quotes St. Augustine.

¹⁷ See the Prologue, l. 9, and Gaston Paris, with reference to the *Manuel des Péchés*, in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XXVIII, 182.

¹⁸ *Ll.* 1611-1618.

cum vir dicit: ego accipio te in meam, non dominam, non ancillam, sed coniugem. Quia enim non ancilla, vel domina datur, ideo nec de *summo* nec de *imo* a principio formata est, sed de *latere* viri ob coniugalem societatem. Si de *summo* fieret, ut de capite, videretur ad servitutem subicienda; sed quid nec in dominam nec in ancillam assumitur, Facta est de *medio*, id est de latere, quia ad coniugalem societatem assumitur.¹⁹

In the thirteenth century, we find similar reasoning in Robert de Sorbon's treatise on marriage:

Dixit enim Dominus in Genesi II . . . *simili sibi*; quod est relativum aequiparantiae. In quo notatur quod mulier debet esse aequalis viro suo, sive socia, non sub viro, non supra virum. . . . Item, mulier facta fuit de costa viri, non de inferiori parte vel de superiori, sed de media, ut per hoc significaretur quod mulier debet esse aequalis viro suo.²⁰

In spite of these manifestations of what some may regard as an enlightened attitude, there was no circumventing the Biblical text (Ephes. V, 22-24):

Mulieres viris suis subditae sint, sicut Domino: quoniam vir caput est mulieris: sicut Christus caput est Ecclesiae Ipse, salvator corporis eius. Sed sicut Ecclesia subiecta est Christo, ita et mulieres viris suis in omnibus.

It was not difficult, therefore, for Ivo of Chartres to assemble an imposing list of authorities to show that woman should be subject to man.²¹ Indeed, Peter Lombard was able to make man and wife equal only in one respect. Although Mannyng does not comment on this exception to the general rule, it was to be transformed by his great successor as a teller of tales, Geoffrey Chaucer, into the very substantial figure of the Wife of Bath:

. . . cum in omnibus aliis vir *praesit* mulieri, ut caput corpori, est enim *vir caput mulieris*: in solvendo tamen carnes debito *pares sunt*.²²

Perhaps the apparent ambiguity we have just observed had much to do with the appearance of a "marriage group" in the *Canterbury Tales*.

In this same section, after enumerating certain sins connected with troth, Mannyng calls attention to the example of Joseph and Mary, which, he says, shows that first troths are binding:

¹⁹ *Sententiae*, Lib. IV, Dist. XXVIII, Cap. IV., *op. cit.*, IV, 687.

²⁰ Ed. B. Hauréau, *Notices et Extraits*, Paris, 1890-1893, I, 189.

²¹ *Decretum*, VIII, 90-97, Migne, *PL*, 161, cols. 603-604.

²² *Sententiae*, Lib. IV, Dist. XXXII, Cap. I, *op. cit.*, IV, 728-729.

Pe first womman þat þou ches
 Ys þy wyfe, with-oute les.
 Ensampl haue we þer-by,
 Of Iosep þat wedyd oure lady;
 Pere was verry matrimony,
 with-oute fleshly dede of any.
 By þys ensample mayst þou se
 Þat þe fyrst womman þy wyfe shulde be.²³

The reasoning in this passage is not very clear, but there is a fuller statement of the same argument by Isidore of Seville which illuminates Mannyng's text considerably:

Coniuges appellati propter iugum, quod imponitur matrimonio coniungendis. Iugo enim nubentes subici solent, propter futuram concordiam, ne separentur. Coniuges autem verius apellantur a prima desponsationis fide, quamvis adhuc inter eos ignoretur coniugalis concubitus; sicut Maria Ioseph coniux vocatur, inter quos nec fuerat nec futura erat carnis ulla commixtio.²⁴

Mannyng apparently ranks himself here among the followers of Lombard, who, opposing Gratian and his adherents, regarded consummation as unnecessary to *matrimonium ratum*.²⁵ The whole matter had violent repercussions in pastoral theology.

In his discussion of the Seventh Commandment, Mannyng includes, as one would expect, various kinds of theft, kidnaping, churchbreaking, rape, unjust rents, usury, and so on. The topics developed fall under one or another of the three sins conventionally assigned to this commandment, and this threefold division was undoubtedly responsible for the variety of the details used. As Peter Lombard put it:

*Non furtum facies: ubi sacrilegium et rapina omnis prohibetur. . . . Hic etiam usura prohibetur, quae sub rapina continetur.*²⁶

The sin of sacrilege is only touched upon in this part of *Handlyng*

²³ Ll. 1655-1662.

²⁴ *Etymologiae* xx, vii, 9, ed. Lindsay, Oxford, 1911. Cf. Rabanus Maurus, *De universo*, Lib. vii, Cap. v, Migne, *PL*, 111, c. 192.

²⁵ Cf. G. H. Joyce, *Christian Marriage*, London and New York, 1933, pp. 58-61; 83-101. For the theology of child marriage, and the problems of consanguinity and affinity, which are reflected in this section of *HS*, see pp. 93-96; 505-520; 532-543.

²⁶ *Sententiae*, Lib. III, Dist xxxvii, Cap. iv, *op. cit.*, III, 811. Cf. the *Summa Sententiarum*, Tract. iv, Cap. iv, Migne, *PL*, 176, c. 122.

Synne, probably because an entire section is devoted to it later; but various manifestations of the other two sins are elaborated.

Traces of a conventional theological division may also be seen in Mannyng's treatment of the Eighth Commandment, which was said to involve two major sins:

Quintum²⁷ praeceptum est: *Non loqueris contra proximum tuum falsum testimonium: ubi crimen mendacii et periurii prohibetur.*²⁸

The section of *Handlyng Synne* on the subject is devoted to manifestations of these two sins. It opens with a conventional definition of lying:

who-so with hys mouþe, one, seys,
And with hys herte þenkeþ ouþer weys—²⁹

Again, the standard theological textbook of the time furnishes the convention:

Hoc enim malum est proprium mentientis, aliud habere clausum in pectore, aliud promptum in lingua.³⁰

Mannyng goes on to enumerate various types of lies, warning his readers repeatedly that lies involving "delyte" are especially deadly.³¹ That this warning was not a personal whim we learn from St. Bonaventura, who tells us that certain venial lies may become mortal "*per libidinem magnam.*"³²

Among the various kinds of evil swearing described in *Handlyng Synne*, some are easily recognizable commonplaces, but one is especially interesting because of its specific character:

3yt þer ys anoþer sweryng
where-þurgh comþ ofte grete cumbryng,
Þe whyche ys, an oþe oute of mesure,
Pat he schulde haue a mysauenture
On wyfe, and on chylde, to falle,
And on hys ouþer godys alle,

²⁷ That is, the fifth in the second table.

²⁸ Lombard, *Sententiae*, Lib. III, Dist. XXXVII, Cap. v, *op. cit.*, p. 811.

²⁹ Ll. 2639-2640.

³⁰ Lombard, *Sententiae*, Lib. III, Dist. XXXVIII, Cap. III, *op. cit.*, III, 837.

³¹ Ll. 2654, 2659, 2664.

³² *Comm. in Lib. iv Sententiarum*, Dist. XVI, Pars II, Art. III, Quaest. I, *Opera*, IV, 409. Cf. Pierre of Poitiers, *Sententiae*, Lib. IV, Cap. VI, Migne, *PL*, 211, c. 1157.

But he holde at hys myght
 hys oþe þat he swereþ to alle ryght.
 Swyche an oþe ys grete doute to swere,
 For chaunce comþ on many manere.
 Pou settest þy chylde to myche rewþe
 But þou holde þyn oþe to trewþe.³³

At first glance, one might take this for one of the "reflections of daily life" so frequently seen by students of Mannyng's work. It may be, but it is something more besides; for Peter Lombard wrote, quoting St. Augustine:

"Est etiam quoddam genus iuramenti gravissimum, quod fit per *exsecrationem*, ut cum homo dicit: si illud feci, illud patiar, vel illud contingat filiis meis." Secundum quem modum accipitur etiam interdum, cum aliquis iurando dicit: per salutem meam, vel per filios meos, et huiusmodi. Obligat enim haec Deo. Unde Augustinus: "Cum quis ait: per salutem meam, salutem suam Deo obligat. Cum dicit: per filios meos, oppignerat eos Deo, ut hoc eveniat in caput eorum, quod exit de ore ipsius: si verum, verum; si falsum, falsum. Et sicut per hoc iurans aliquando hoc Deo obligat, ita per Deum iurans ipsum adhibet testem."³⁴

The passage in *Handlyg Synne* thus reflects a very old and very well known theological principle.

In general, further study of *Handlyng Synne* may reveal that it contains much less that is original than has commonly been supposed. If the selection and organization of its materials sometimes reflect conventional patterns of doctrinal theology, we may reasonably suppose that at other times—and perhaps more frequently, since the book is addressed to layman—the selection, organization, and even the details themselves, may reflect conventions of pastoral theology.³⁵

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³³ Ll. 2765-2776.

³⁴ *Sententiae*, Lib. III, Dist. XXXIX, Cap. VII, *op. cit.*, III, 859. Cf. Pierre of Poitiers, *Sententiae*, Lib. IV, Cap. VI, Migne, *PL*, 211, c. 1157.

³⁵ The appearance of certain pastoral traditions in the book is discussed in my forthcoming article on the literary tradition of *Handlyng Synne*.

THE FIVE CRAFTSMEN

Among the Canterbury pilgrims Chaucer pictures in the General Prologue, are five craftsmen, dressed in their best for a holiday. Their description occupies a mere eighteen lines, after which they disappear from sight completely and are never mentioned again. Their cook receives more attention than they do, and he, at least, is an individual. The craftsmen, on the other hand, are presented as five figures exactly alike, except for the specific information concerning the trades they follow.

But though their appearance is brief, these five gentlemen are nevertheless interesting because they have become something of a puzzle. They are, namely,

An Haberdasshere, and a Carpenter,
A Webbe, a Dyere, and a Tapycer,—
And they were clothed alle in o lyveree
Of a solempne and a greet fraternitee.¹

It would be convenient, certainly, to assume that Chaucer must have been in error; for how could five tradesmen of such widely differing crafts have belonged to the same trade guild? Such an explanation, however, is easier than it is accurate. One might with more justice accuse a contemporary American writer of being misinformed concerning the constituency of the labor unions. If Chaucer is correct, then, there must be a set of circumstances that fit the description he has given. What are these circumstances?

The first question is: where did the craftsmen come from? Their presence, "alle in o lyveree," would be easy of explanation were they citizens of some town having a Guild Merchant, or of such a place as Worcester, where all the crafts were associated in one guild. It is nowhere explicitly stated, except by implication, where their homes were. The cook who accompanied them seems to have been a London man, however; and, what is more important, so was Chaucer himself. He would have been familiar with London pageantry from his boyhood; and it is unlikely that the picture he paints of municipal ceremony and grandeur, drawn as it must have been,

¹ *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. F. N. Robinson (Boston, 1933), 23, vv. 361-364.

from life, could have originated in any place other than London.² Additional evidence would seem to lie in the fact that Chaucer has named the homes of many of the pilgrims.³ Where he has failed to do so, it is either because the pilgrim follows where his livelihood leads him, and in that sense has no home, like the Friar, or because the pilgrim's description either necessitates or prevents his having a home in London.⁴ The rest may almost certainly be considered to reside there.

If the guildsmen are from London, then, it is unlikely that they could have been members of a Guild Merchant, for there is no record of any such at London.⁵ Nor are they all members of one craft guild, for in 1364 a law was passed, "obliging all Artificers and people of mysteries to choose each his own mystery, and, having so chosen it, to use no other."⁶ Each of them would thus have had one particular trade or mystery of his own, and this much Chaucer has set forth. As active practitioners, then, they must of necessity have belonged each to the guild of his own particular craft, for no man could practice his trade in the city of London unless he were "free of the city," or "in the freedom"—that is, a fully qualified member of the guild of his own craft.⁷

There was a guild for each of these crafts in Chaucer's day, though some were not incorporated by letters-patent until the following century.⁸ Their existence in this period is attested to by the fact that, in the years from 1376 to 1383, representatives were sent by them to take seats in the Common Council. The carpenters, in spite of the opinion presented by E. P. Kuhl,⁹ were incorporated

² G. Unwin, *The Gilds and Companies of London* (London, 1908), 110.

³ The Good Wife came from Bath, the Shipman from Dartmouth, the Reeve from Baldswell in Norfolk, and so on.

⁴ The Manciple and the Man of Law would seem to belong in London; while the Friar, who has a specific territory to cover, and the Parson, who serves a remote country parish, and the Franklin, certainly do not.

⁵ C. Gross, *The Gild Merchant* (Oxford, 1890), I, 116.

⁶ W. Benham and C. Welsh, *Mediaeval London* (London, 1901), 33. Mystery (< ministerium) = trade.

⁷ Gross, *op. cit.*, I, 123-124.

⁸ The haberdashers were incorporated in 1407; the dyers, 1472; the weavers, in the reign of Henry II; and the tapicers, 1331.

⁹ E. P. Kuhl, "Chaucer's Burgesses," in the *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters* (Madison, 1916), XVIII, Pt. 2, 657, and note 3.

by the letters-patent of Edward III on the seventh of July, 1344, as "The Masters, Wardens, Assistants, and Commonalty of the Mystery of the Freemen of the Carpentry of the City of London."¹⁰

There seems to be little basis for Kuhl's theory that Chaucer deliberately selected these men from the most powerful, neutral guilds of his day.¹¹ The fact that they belong to the non-victualling companies may be significant; and it is conceivable that, owing to his association with Brembre in the Customs, Chaucer may have avoided using anyone from the ten non-victualling guilds that denounced Mayor Brembre in 1386.¹² But one is hard put to it to believe that Chaucer either remembered or looked up, as Kuhl seems to suggest, the exact rank of each of the craft guilds in London as shown by the number of representatives sent by each to the Common Council in August, 1376, and selected those having the fewest enemies and the most power.¹³

Obviously, the livery in which all five were dressed could not have been that of a craft guild; for none of the guildsmen would have assumed the livery of any craft other than his own, even had he not been forbidden to do so by the laws of his guild. But the liveried fraternities in Chaucer's day were not all trade guilds.

Before the middle of the fourteenth century, local or parish guilds were beginning to be formed, and they "were established in half the churches of London at the time the *Canterbury Tales* were being written."¹⁴ These guilds, as the name¹⁵ suggests, were

¹⁰ W. Maitland and others, *The History and Survey of London from its Foundation to the Present Time* (London, 1756), II, Bk. v, 1243.

¹¹ Kuhl, *op. cit.*, 656-658.

¹² G. Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, ed. J. M. Manly (Chicago, 1940), 522.

¹³ In 1383 the elections were returned to the wards, and in subsequent years, the precedence shown by the last election from the guilds may have altered somewhat.

¹⁴ G. Unwin, *The Gilds and Companies of London* (London, 1908), 111.

¹⁵ The name "parish fraternity" or "parish guild" is a modern designation, applied for the sake of convenience. In Chaucer's time, all the guilds were religious to some extent; that is, almost all had patron saints, and were commonly referred to either by the name of the saint, the trade whose artificers made it up, or, more rarely, by the name of the master or alderman. Those fraternities without distinct trade affiliation remained under the name of the patron saint. For the purposes of this paper, they

formed by the members of a parish, though outsiders were admitted as well. They sprang from a desire on the part of the more thoughtful to provide for their souls, in an age when sudden and violent death was common; and they had their beginnings in the form of "cooperative chantries for souls."¹⁶ A group of like-minded citizens thus would band together, pool their resources, and hire a priest to sing masses. Sometimes the initial impetus was the necessity for repairing a chapel or a bridge;¹⁷ and in such a case, all who shared in the work stored up merits in Heaven.

The group thus formed, cohered, and became a parish fraternity. Entrance fees were imposed, and dues and fines collected. The brethren set up rules for their own government, and collectively assumed the duties of providing funerals for members, aid for the poor, sick, or aged,—if the fraternity had the money,—small loans to members, and the settlement of disputes. Officers were elected, and the fraternity instituted feasts and social gatherings. The society's name was that of the saint or saints to whom it was dedicated; and an annual feast, often followed by the election of officers, was held on that saint's day. Being, as it were, divorced from trade or craft affiliations, these fraternities were made up of men and women of many different "mysteries," or trades. Though never so powerful as the craft guilds, in the latter part of the fourteenth century, the parish fraternities were almost as rich, and certainly more numerous.¹⁸

These fraternities also had liveries, usually consisting of a coat and a hood, which were worn at all official gatherings. Though the five guildsmen could not have worn the livery of any craft other than their own, there is no reason why they could not have worn the livery of some organization whose main interest was other than trade. A holiday naturally constituted something of an

will be referred to as parish fraternities, or parish guilds, to distinguish them from the trade or craft guilds.

¹⁶ Unwin, *op. cit.*, 116.

¹⁷ H. F. Westlake, *The Parish Gilds of Mediaeval England* (London, 1919), 15-16. This was normally the function of secular authorities, but it sometimes became a religious duty through the association of chapels with the bridges over which pilgrims had to travel.

¹⁸ G. Unwin, *The Gilds and Companies of London* (London, 1908), Chapter IX, "The Parish Fraternities." Concerning the general topic, see also Westlake, *op. cit.*, chapters I, II, III, IV, V.

exception to livery laws.¹⁹ The guildsmen were evidently out for a holiday pilgrimage, undertaken as five brethren of one parish fraternity, rather than as five craftsmen of different "mysteries."

If then, the pilgrimage to the shrine of the "hooly blisful martir" was being made in the livery of a parish fraternity, the hypothesis that St. Thomas bore some particular relation to the organization is almost inescapable. He may have been its patron saint, for dedications to him were common in the fourteenth century. Among the Returns²⁰ of 1389, there are listed fifteen fraternities of that dedication.²¹ There is record of only one fraternity so dedicated in the city of London.²²

This one fraternity of St. Thomas originated in the chapel on the Bridge, some time near the beginning of the reign of Edward III. In the same parish (St. Magnus', Bridge Ward), there was another fraternity:

In the seventeenth year of King Edward the third, Ralph Capelyn, Bailiff, William Double, Fishmonger, Roger Clonyll, Chandler, Henry Roseworth, Vintner, Stephen Lucas, Stockfishmonger, and others of the better sort of the parish of St. Magnus, near London Bridge . . . commenced and caused to be sung an anthem of Our Lady called the *Salve Regina* at every Vesper and ordained candles to burn at the time of the said anthem in honor and reverence of the five principal joys of Our Lady,

¹⁹ There are numerous instances in London history which bear out this conclusion. For example, it has been recorded that large numbers of citizens belonging to the guilds rode in pageants or triumphal processions, all clothed in one livery. See W. Benham and C. Welsh, *Mediaeval London* (London, 1901), Chapter II, "Civil Rule."

²⁰ In 1388 Richard II issued a writ requiring that the masters and wardens of all guilds and brotherhoods send in a return describing the types of guilds over which they presided, the guild membership, history, property, and regulations, together with charters or letters-patent they might have. These returns, now in a very fragmentary state, are called the Returns of 1389, and contain much of our knowledge of guilds.

²¹ Of these, the earliest was founded at Wymondham, Norfolk, in 1187. One at Lynn, also in Norfolk, is dated 1272, and the rest, if dated at all, bear dates in the fourteenth century. See H. F. Westlake, *The Parish Gilds of Mediaeval England* (London, 1919), Appendix A.

²² It is interesting, though without relevance in the present instance, to note that there is a certificate—#272, in Latin—among the Returns, of a fraternity founded in Lynn about the time Chaucer was writing the Prologue, by six from the town who had recently made a pilgrimage to Canterbury.

and to excite the people to devotion. . . . Whereupon several other good people of the same parish seeing the great seemliness of this service and devotion proffered to be aiders and partners in sustaining the lights and the anthem, by paying each person every week a half-penny and soon after with the people gave to the light and anthem they commenced to find a chaplain to sing in the said church for all the benefactors of the light and anthem.²³

Some time after that,

In view of the fact that the parish church was old and ruinous besides being too small, the two fraternities determined to become one, to have the anthem of St. Thomas after the *Salve Regina*, and to devote their united resources to enlarging of St. Magnus' Church.²⁴

It would have been entirely natural, then, for five brethren of differing professions or trades, united by means of such an organization, to have made the pilgrimage to Canterbury.

But Chaucer has characterized their brotherhood as a "solempne and a greet fraternitee." Would this organization, or one like it, have merited such terms? Allowing for Chaucer's "stupendous luck" in encountering only the greatest and best, one would be justified in assuming that it would. Any fraternity in Chaucer's time was "solempne," for the Middle Ages, in common with several succeeding ones, loved pomp and pageantry. The term "greet" may be taken to refer to the society's worldly possessions and prestige. It is recorded that the Fraternity of *Salve Regina* possessed, in addition to the wax collected as fines from the members and used for tapers, and the four funeral torches, "two chalices, one principal vestment, and two others, a white and a blue, as well as napkins, towels, and altar furniture." In 1370 it paid the King forty pounds for a license to "hold in mortmain messuages and rents of the yearly value of £14 7s 6d . . . and soon afterward the property was increased to £24 by further bequests."²⁵ Translated into modern terms, this is no small sum.

And in addition to the pride of material possessions, the brotherhood had, no doubt, considerable prestige. It had among its members these five craftsmen who were, Chaucer thought, sufficiently wise and prudent citizens to have seats on the dais in the

²³ From the "Gild Certificates of 1389 in the Public Record Office," quoted in G. Unwin, *The Gilds and Companies of London* (London, 1908), 115.

²⁴ Unwin, *op. cit.*, 115.

²⁵ Unwin, *op. cit.*, Chapter IX.

Guildhall; in other words, to be aldermen of the city of London.²⁶ Such prosperous and ambitious citizens, with a pilgrimage to their credit, would have been a source of satisfaction to any organization.

And finally, this fraternity would have enjoyed the prestige of history, the sanction of long endurance. It had been founded in 1343, and the Fraternity of St. Thomas the Martyr may have antedated that. It had survived, before or after the amalgamation, four visitations of the plague—a circumstance that had finished off many another such organization.

There is, naturally, no way of ascertaining whether this was the fraternity Chaucer had in mind, or whether any specific reference was intended. But the brotherhood to which the five belonged must certainly have been one of the parish fraternities, of which general class the Fraternity of *Salve Regina* was a typical example. If it was not that one, it was a guild similar in character and aim.

Having presented the pilgrims, first as craftsmen of five different trades, and then as brethren of a single parish fraternity, Chaucer goes on to a third aspect of their lives and shows them as citizens. He says,

Wel semed ech of hem a fair burgeys
To sitten in a yeldehalle on a deys.
Everich, for the wisdom that he kan
Was shaply for to been an alderman.
For catel hadde they ynogh and rente,
And eek hir wyves wolde it wel assente;
And elles certeyn were they to blame.
It is ful fair to been ycleped "madame,"
And goon to vigilies al bifore,
And have a mantel roialliche ybore.²⁷

The term "burgeys" or "burgess" in the beginning signified an "inhabitant householder who . . . contributed his proportion to the taxes, bore his share of the civic burdens, and was enrolled at the court leet."²⁸ It was a conception that originally bore no relation to guild membership. Though, in later days, the two tended to merge, the basic connotation of "burgess" remained

²⁶ See below.

²⁷ Chaucer, *Works*, ed. F. N. Robinson (Boston, 1933), 23, vv. 369-378.

²⁸ E. R. A. Seligman, "Two Chapters on the Mediaeval Guilds of England," in the *Publications of the American Economic Association* (Baltimore, 1888), II, 36.

the same. The "yeldehalle" or Guildhall was the seat of the municipal government in the latter part of the fourteenth century,²⁹ and the Common Council held its meetings there. The "deys" or raised platform was that on which the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs had seats, while the councilmen were seated "on the floor."³⁰

The reference to "alderman" has sometimes been taken to indicate the head officer of a guild. But many of the trade guilds in Chaucer's time were governed by "masters" or "wardens." If the reference is to the head officer of the parish fraternity, an element of absurdity arises. It would certainly have been impossible for them all to hold that office simultaneously, and though office-holding in the Middle Ages was generally regarded as a burden, this particular office, with the attendant social position, would have been desirable. Indeed, the line "And eek hir wyves wolde it wel assente," suggests that there was some ambition toward that office, if only on the part of their wives. And when have rival candidates been on sufficiently friendly terms to take trips together?

The term "alderman," however, may have other connotations. Originally it applied, as Gross points out, to the head of a borough, village, estate, or monastery as well.—

The name simply continued to cling simultaneously to the gild and ward officials, while its application to other institutions became obsolete. The gild alderman and ward alderman of the borough did not coalesce, but continued to exist side by side.³¹

Chaucer's previous references to the guildsmen as citizens seem to indicate that the intended meaning is that of ward alderman. So does the fact that they had "catel ynogh;" for at the beginning of the fourteenth century an ordinance was passed requiring that a man have at least three horses in order to be eligible for the office of alderman. In this sense, they might all have been aldermen at once, and surely the position of ward alderman is more in keeping with the pomp of the "vigilies,"

²⁹ C. Gross, *The Gild Merchant* (Oxford, 1890), I, 82.

³⁰ E. P. Kuhl, *op. cit.*, 566, note 1, cites an unpublished letter to him from A. B. Beaven in this connection. I regret that I am unable to present more definite authority.

³¹ C. Gross, *The Gild Merchant* (Oxford, 1890), I, 79.

and, for that matter, with Chaucer's high praise of the other pilgrims.²²

Thus Chaucer has presented five guildsmen—eighteen lines and no more. They were, he says, members each of the guild of his own trade—guilds that were neither the most powerful nor the least important of their time. They were prosperous business-men, and in addition to their "secular" or trade guild, they were members as well of a parish fraternity, in the livery of which they were undertaking their pilgrimage to Canterbury. And, says Chaucer, they were all such rich, prudent, and well-informed gentlemen that they were worthy of being made aldermen of the city of London!

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S. THOMAS MORE AND THE *CATENA AUREA*

It is a familiar detail of S. Thomas More's last months in the Tower that, shortly before the end, the few books he had with him were "trussed up" and taken away. In view of their evident significance to More, the identity of these books invites speculation.

The suggestion that one of them was the *Catena Aurea* of S. Thomas Aquinas stems from the slight but definite evidence of More's writings in the Tower. True, he makes little use in these last treatises¹ of the quoted authority that abounds in his earlier work. His citations here are too casual to indicate direct garnering: opinions and anecdotes from Pliny and Plato and the great Church Fathers—Gregory, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Bernard—; several "proper tales" from the *Collations* of Cassian and the fables of Aesop. Only once More speaks of a book at hand: John Gerson's *Monatessaron*. Upon this synthesis of the four Evangelists he expressly bases "A treatice vpon the passion of Chryste,"² wherein also he quotes long passages from it.

²² H. B. Hinckley, *Notes on Chaucer* (Northampton, Mass., 1907), 28.

¹ "A dialogue of comferte agaynste tribulacyon" and "A treatice vpon the passion of Chryste" (1534).

² "Here I wil gyue the reader warnynge, that I wyll rehearse the wordes of theuangelistes in this proces of the passion, in latyne, word by word after my copy, as I finde it in the worke of that worshipful father maister

More nowhere acknowledges his use of the *Catena Aurea*, though once, in an earlier work, he mentions it rather incidentally.³ This well known medieval collection of excerpts from some eighty Greek and Latin commentators on the New Testament would have been a likely choice for the limited library of a prison cell. Indeed the variety of commentary adduced by More under such circumstances strongly suggests a compilation. That it was the *Catena* of Aquinas that he used is indicated not only by several parallel arrangements of excerpts but by two ostensibly quoted texts.

Probably the clearest case in point is that More's last quotation from S. Augustine is made not in its original wording but in the condensation of *Catena Aurea*. S. Augustine had been the mainstay of More's polemical treatises, but the favorite bulky tomes were hardly transported to the Tower. Compared with the meticulous exactness of More's previous englishings of S. Augustine, his freedom with the Latin here⁴ is at first inexplicable. It is, however, an abridged version that Aquinas habitually makes in his compiling.⁵ The skillful condensation of the *Catena* and More's close adherence to it are alike readily apparent upon comparison:

Augustine:	<i>Catena</i> :	More:
Nam videtur hic sermo secundum Matthaëum tanquam sibi ipsi contrarius, quod post tertiam orationem venit ad dis-	Videtur autem hic sermo secundum mattheum sibi ipsi esse contrarius. Quo modo enim dixit Dormite iam & requiescite:	Videtur, inquit, hic sermo secundum Matthaëum sibi ipse esse contrarius. Quo modo enim dixit, Dormite iam & requies-

John Gerson, whych worke he entitled *Monatessaron*. . . because I wil not in any worde wyllinglye, mangle or mutulate that honourable mans worke" (*English Works* [ed. Rastell, 1557], 1291BC. Hereafter cited as *EW*.)

³In "The Confutacion of Tyndales Aunswere" (1532), *EW*, 666E: "And holy saynt Thomas alledgeth in hys boke called *Cathena aurea*, the woordes whych Huskyn woulde haue seme that they coulde not be founden in the work."

⁴In *Omnia Latina Opera* (Louvain, 1566), 125. The quotation is from "De Consensu Evangelistarum," the abbreviated title in the *Catena* being erroneously expanded by More as "De Concordia Evangelistarum."

⁵*Vide* Preface of J[ohn] H[enry] N[ewman] to the six-volume English translation of *Catena Aurea* (Oxford, 1874). *E. g.* (vii): "The quotations do not profess to be made with scrupulous adherence to the words of the original. But they are not (a very few excepted) abridgments in the words of the compiler, but condensations in their own language."

Augustine:

cupulos suos et dicit illis, *Dormite jam, et requiescite: ecce appropinquavit hora, et Filius hominis tradetur in manus peccatorum. Surgite, eamus; ecce appropinquavit qui me tradet.* Quomodo enim supra, *Dormite jam, et requiescite*, cum connectat, *ecce appropinquavit hora*; et ideo dicat, *Surgite, eamus?* Qua velut repugnantia commoti qui legunt, conantur ita pronuntiare quod dictum est, *Dormite jam, et requiescite*, tanquam ab exprobrante, non a permittente sit dictum. Quod recte fieret, si esset necesse: cum vero Marcus ita hoc commemoravit, ut cum dixisset, *Dormite jam, et requiescite*, adiungeret, *sufficit*; et deinde inferret, *Venit hora; ecce tradetur Filius hominis*: utique intelligitur post illud quod eis dictum est, *Dormite jam, et requiescite*, siluisse Dominum aliquantum, ut hoc fieret quod permiserat; et tunc intulisse, *ecce appropinquavit hora*. Ideo post illa verba secundum Marcum positum est, *sufficit*, id est, quod requievistis jam sufficit.⁶

Catena:

cum connectat *Surgite eamus. qua velut repugnantia quidam commoti conantur ita pronunciare quod dictum est: Dormite iam & requiescite tanquam ab exprobrante (sic): non a permittente sit dictum: quod recte fieret si esset necesse. Cum vero marcus ita commemoraverit: ut cum dixisset: Dormite iam & requiescite adiungeret: Sufficit. & deinde inferret: Venit hora: Ecce tradetur filius hominis utique intelligitur post illud quod eis dictum est. Dormite iam & requiescite: siluisse dominum aliquantum: ut hoc fieret quod promiserat: & nunc intulisse. Ecce appropinquavit hora. Propter quod secundum marcum positum est. Sufficit. id est quod iam requievistis.⁶*

More:

cite, quum connectat: *Surgite, eamus?* Qua velut repugnantia commoti quidam conantur ita pronunciare, quod dictum est: *Dormite iam & requiescite*, tanquam ab exprobrante, non a permittente sit dictum. Quod recte fieret, si esset necesse. Quum vero Marcus ita commemoraverit, ut quum dixisset: *Dormite iam & requiescite*, adiungeret. *Sufficit*, & deinde in ferret (*sic*): venit hora, ecce tradetur filius hominis utique, intelligitur post illud, quod eis dictum est: *Dormite & requiescite*, siluisse Dominum aliquantum, ut hoc fieret, quod permiserat, & tunc intulisse: Ecce appropinquavit hora. Propter quod secundum Marcum positum est: *Sufficit*, id est quod iam requievistis.⁷

It is not singular that More should have taken the *Catena Aurea* to the Tower, for he had evidently used it in preparing his last

⁶ *Opus aureum sancti Thome de aquino super quatuor euangelia* (Venice, 1493), f. 104 vo.

⁷ More, *loc. cit.*

treatise before imprisonment, "The aunswer to the first part of the poysoned booke whych a nameles heretike hath named the supper of the lord" (1533). The treatise is more readily associated with the *Catena* through another passage from S. Augustine. More simply presents it with an introductory "And therefore saith holy Saint Austin thus."⁹ But actually the passage is a combination of two fragments from the 29th and 25th homilies of S. Augustine on S. John; and if More had himself done the combining he would almost infallibly have said so. Again More's proves to be the version made by Aquinas for *Catena Aurea*.¹⁰

⁹ *Patrologia Latina* (ed. J. P. Migne, Paris, 1844-64), xxxiv. 1164-65. Hereafter cited as *PL*.

¹⁰ *EW*, 1050E.

¹⁰ Compare the following:

Augustine (*Tr.* xxix, 6):

Sed si creditis in eum, creditis ei: non autem continuo qui credit ei, credit in eum. Nam et daemones credebant ei, et non credebant in eum. Rursus etiam de Apostolis ipsius possumus dicere, Credimus Paulo; sed non, Credimus in Paulum. . . . Credendo in eum ire, et ejus membris incorporari. Ipsa est ergo fides quam de nobis exigit Deus. . . . Non qualiscumque fides, sed fides quae per dilectionem operatur.

(*Tr.* xxv, 12):

Discernitur quidem ab operibus fides, sicut Apostolus dicit, *justificari hominem per fidem sine operibus Legis*: et sunt opera quae videntur bona, sine fide Christi; et non sunt bona, quia non referuntur ad eum finem

Catena:

Non autem dicit: Ut credatis ei: *sed* ut credatis in eum. Non nam continuo qui credit ei: credit in eum. Nam et demones credebant ei: et non credebant in eum. Et nos credimus paulo: *sed* non in paulum. Credere ergo in eum est credendo amare: credendo diligere: credendo in eum ire: et ejus membris incorporari. Ipsa est fides quam de nobis exigit deus: quae per dilectionem operatur. Discernitur tum ab operibus fides; sicut dicit apostolus *iustificari hominem per fidem sine operibus legis*. Et sunt opera quae videntur bona sine fide christi: et non sunt bona: quia non referuntur ad eum finem ex quo sunt bona: finis enim legis christus ad iusticiam omni cre-

More:

Christ sayth not, beleue him, but beleue in hym. For it foloweth not by and by, that who so beleue hym, belieueth in hym. For the deuilles belieued him, but they belieued not in him. And we beleue saynt Paule, but we belieue not in Saynt Paule. To belieue therefore in him, is with belieuing to goe into him, & to be incorporate in hys membres. Thys is the fayth that God requireth and exacteth of vs, that is to witt, the fayth that by loue will woorke well. Yet is fayth discerned and seuered from woorkes as the Apostle sayth, a man is justified by fayth without the workes of the lawe. And there are woorkes that seme good without the faith of Christ, but they be not,

The quotation is merely part of an entire section in which More closely follows the content and arrangement of the *Catena* on John vi. Immediately preceding the passage which More quotes, the *Catena* presents Alcuin's testimony that the Son of God Himself is the author of the Holy Eucharist.¹¹ And immediately preceding his quotation from the *Catena*, More closely paraphrases this testimony, though without here naming Alcuin.¹² He then continues to follow the *Catena* in copying S. Hilary's interpretation of the text, "For hym hathe God the father sealed," in this instance mentioning S. Hilary.¹³ Closing this section of the treatise, More declares significantly that he has written "not of myne own mind, but of the mind of diuers holy doctours, Alcuynus, saint Thomas. . . ." ¹⁴

Similar paraphrases of commentary from the *Catena* appear in the "Treatice vpon the passion," already associated with it above. Relating Christ's sending Peter and John ahead to engage a room for the Last Supper, More pauses for interpretation: "Of which thyng dyuers of the olde doctours coniect and tel diuers causes."¹⁵ All the commentary he then adduces on the text (Luke xxii, 8-10) is to be found on a single page of the *Catena*.¹⁶ Extracts there from S. Ambrose and Theophilactus embody More's dual explanation:

ex quo sunt bona: *Finis enim Legis Christus, ad iustitiam omni credenti.* Ideo noluit discernere ab opere fidem, sed ipsam fidem dixit esse opus. Ipsa est enim fides quae per dilectionem operatur (PL xxxv. 1631, 1602).

denti: et ideo noluit discernere ab opere fidem: sed ipsam fidem dixit esse opus dei: ipsa est enim fides quae per dilectionem operatur.

(F. 266 r^o)

for they be not referred vnto that end of which all good thinges come. For the end of the law is Christ vnto iustice vnto al that beleue. And therefore our sauour would not discern & deuide fayth from the woorke, but sayth that the faith it selfe was the woorke of god, that is to witte, the fayth that by loue woorketh. (EW, 1050EF)

¹¹ F. 265 v^o.

¹² EW, 1046 D-F.

¹³ "For (as the old holy doctours declare, & among other . . . saint Hilary). . . ." (EW, 1046F).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1055E.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1310C.

¹⁶ F. 227 r^o.

"Some saye" Christ went to an unnamed house to show His indifference to name and fame; others, for secrecy against His captors so that the Last Supper should be unmolested.¹⁷ More continues with the rest of the Theophilactus passage: that Christ sent Peter, who especially loved Him, and John whom He especially loved.¹⁸ In the *Catena*, extracts follow from Bede and Chrysostom; and More writes that Christ used a strange house because He had no home of His own, "as Theophilactus and saynte Bede saye and saynt Chrisostome also."¹⁹ On More's next page, his explanation of "He loved them unto the end," includes the various ways in which "some doctours expown" it.²⁰ These follow closely the substantial commentary of SS. Chrysostom and Augustine on John xiii in the *Catena*.²¹

Further in the same treatise More makes the most considerable of all his borrowings from the *Catena*, where he paraphrases a solid block of extracts (on Matthew xxvi) from, in order: Remigius, Chrysostom, Jerome, Chrysostom, Remigius, Chrysostom, Remigius.²² Where texts from S. Luke complement the narrative of the first Evangelist, More appears to have leafed back to the S.

¹⁷ EW, 1310CD. ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1310E. ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1313A. ²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1314D.

²¹ Closely following the *Catena*, f. 289 r^o (at a marginal note, "Chrysos. hom. 70, i") More writes: ". . . so that when he shoulde part out of this world, by a deathe so paynefull that the thynking therof woulde make a manne forgette al hys frendes for heaynes drede and feare, he the nerer he drew toward that paynefull terrible death, the more he remembered his twelue apostles whom he hadde specially loued in the worlde, and the more tenderly toke he thoughte for theym, whan he was partynge oute of this worlde" (1314D). He then continues with the ensuing passage in *Catena* (*idem.*) from S. Augustine's *Tract. in Joann.* 55, ii: "Some expowne also those woordes . . . that the loue that he bare them, was not suche a kynde of loue as worldely mynded folke vse to beare eche to other. . . . But oure sauoure, those that he loued in the worlde, he loued not into the waye, that is to wytte, not onely vnto theyr worldly commodities that are transitory and that shal passe from them, whiche they shall leue behynde them in the way: but he loued them into thende, that is to witte toward the brynginge of them to the ende that he by his precyous bloude bought them to" (1314EF).

²² F. 102r^o. In More the order is as follows:

1325BC—Remigius, Chrysostom
1326BC—Chrysostom, Remigius
1329H —Chrysostom
1330A —Jerome

Luke section of *Catena* for comments from Bede and Theophylactus.²³ Some of these opinions More simply ascribes to "the old holy doctours,"²⁴ but of the group in question he names Chrysostom five times, Bede twice, and Remigius and Jerome each once.

It goes without saying that More's learning was not of the compilation variety. His long polemical and devotional treatises manifestly draw upon the full originals of classical and patristic authority. Exigencies of time and place appear to have admitted an exception in the *Catena Aurea*.

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SOME MARGINAL NOTES TO THE TOWNELEY "RESURRECTION"

It is, indeed, regrettable that all available editions of medieval English dramas, without exception, should be so inadequately glossed. Even such a comparatively recent publication as the *Ludus Coventriae* (*EETS ES* 120), though far superior to its predecessors, has a glossary that leaves much to be desired. The reader who is interested in the exact meaning of the text before him—an essential prerequisite for any study of the cycle plays as dramatic compositions—will soon discover that it is impossible to trust these glossaries and that a diligent and often laborious search in the *NED* is the only safe alternative.

Manly's two-volume anthology *Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearean Drama* (1900) was never followed by the promised third volume, which was to contain textual notes and a glossary. For the last twenty years students of the medieval drama who have used Joseph Quincy Adams's *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas* with its handy vocabulary in foot-notes must at times have puzzled over translations that seem to make little sense, but it may be questioned whether they have ever been aware of the extent to which these vocabulary notes have led them astray. For this exceedingly useful selection of plays is, unfortunately, marred by so many glossarial

²³ F. 227 r^o, already associated with More's treatise in the paragraph above. Bede and Theophilactus are cited in More, 1326G.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 1336G.

misinterpretations and inconsistencies that a complete revision of the foot-notes is necessary before a second edition appears. On p. 134, for instance, we come across this foot-note: "MS. *Tunc angelus obuiabit Balaam cum gladio extracto in manu, et stabit asina*. Possibly the ass stopped so suddenly as to throw Balaam off; see line 167." The line in question occurs in Balaam's exhortation to the ass to "goe forth" and runs: "Or, as brok I my crowne, / Thou shalt full sore abyee!" But *brok* does not mean 'broke' here as the editor of *CPD* (= Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas) seems to assume; it is the vb. *brook*, to use, enjoy, frequently found in such obsolete asseverations as *so brouke I my heid (chyn, eyes, etc.)*, so may I have the use of my head (etc., see *NED*) and used, for instance, by Chaucer: "For also browke I wel myn hed" (*House of Fame* 273), "As evere hool I moote brouke my tresses" (*Merchant's Tale* 2308).¹

Space does not permit a discussion of all the medieval plays included in *CPD* but I have selected one of average difficulty, the Towneley "Resurrection," to illustrate my point. It is reprinted on pp. 191-198 in *CPD* from the *EETS ES* edition. The line numbering is that of *CPD*.

1.1. *Woldys in Peasse, I warne you, woldys in wytt!* is incorrectly rendered 'wielders, possessors.' The next line, *And standys on syde, or els go sytt*, clearly shows that *woldys* is the plural form of the vb. *wold*, to wield (this very form occurs in *NED* under *wield* A1γ). *In wytt* means 'sane, sanely' (its adverbial use here has escaped *NED*), so that the first line must be interpreted: "Peace, I warn you, behave (*wield* B 4 b) sanely."

1.9. The jocular use of *my worship* for 'me' (now obsolete; first quotation in *NED* dated 1601) should have been pointed out.

1.17, *State*, meaning 'dignitary' (*NED* state III. 24), should have been glossed. So should *lad* (1. 18), 'man of low birth, varlet.'

1.22: *tayn*, taken, should have been glossed here and not in 1. 418.

1.24: *lede* means 'perform' rather than 'follow.'

1.41: *for man*, as (being) a man.

¹ Not only is the English text frequently misunderstood but the Latin has fared as badly on p. 25, where the shepherds are made to say the verse *Nolite timere* instead of the boy impersonating the angel! The translator has overlooked the fact that the Latin text has *hunc versum dicens* (not *dicentes*) and that *pastores* is in the accusative (. . . *tunicis et amictis indutos*).

l. 42: *If any rybaldys wold oght ryse*, if any rascals (not 'rabble') would stir up something.

l. 59: *on hight* means 'aloud,' not 'at once'—cf. "He . . . spak thise same wordes al on highte" (Chaucer, Knight's Tale 926—*NED* height 18).

l. 69: *Therfor, right as I meyn*, therefore, exactly as I say—cf. *NED* mean vb. l. 6, to say, tell, mention. Similarly l. 90: *The rightweys man, I meyn him by*, where *meyn* is wrongly glossed 'have in mind'; the obsolete expression *to mean by* (Scottish and Northern, *NED* 6 b) means 'to speak, tell of.' The same mistake occurs in l. 497: *A mekill myrth now may we meyn*, where *meyn* is translated 'call to mind' instead of correctly 'speak of' (*A* is the unstressed form of *of*).

l. 96: *mayntene*, to uphold, support.

l. 105: *neuen sich notes new*, where *neuen* is better rendered 'speak of' than 'name,' and *notes*, affairs, should have been glossed instead of in l. 152.

l. 117: *starnes* (< ON *stjarna*), star; see *stern*, *starn*, sb. 2, *NED*.

l. 133: *trast*, to trust, have confidence in (see *traist* < ON *treysta*, a Northern vb., *NED*).

l. 138: *A, sich tayles full sone wold make us yrke*—cf. l. 583: *A! he was to me / No longer dwell I may*. The punctuation, which has been taken over from the *EETS* ed., is utterly nonsensical, particularly the exclamation mark in l. 583, which makes Maria Magdalene's speech unintelligible. *A* is not the interjection here but the Northern form of *all* (recorded from 1280 in *NED*), and there should consequently be neither a comma, nor an exclamation mark in these two lines.

l. 144: *in the wenyande*, in an unlucky hour, with a vengeance (*NED*, *waniand*).

l. 150: *redys* in *Sich wonderfull resons as now redys* does not mean 'spoken of' but 'govern, rule' (it is the Northern plural in *-s*; cf. *rede*, *NED*).

l. 173: *bot*, unless, should have been glossed here and not in 370, 424.

l. 216: *And I shall fownde his feete to flytt*, where *flytt* is strangely rendered 'strive with,' a very unlikely meaning contextually, the more so since *feete* is not preceded by any preposition. Here *flytt* (a Northern word) probably has the specialized meaning 'to tether' (*NED* 1 b), first recorded in 1523. Such an interpretation gives good sense, because the third Miles sits down at Christ's feet.

l. 336: *I drope, I dare, for seying of sight*, where *dare* certainly does not mean 'gaze fixedly' but 'to lie motionless, to lie appalled,' especially in the phrase *droop and dare* (*NED*, *dare* vb. 2, 3).

l. 345: *hold*, shelter, protection.

l. 362: *sere*, many, already given in l. 158 but not in 323, where the northern spelling *seyr* occurs.

l. 385: *fre*, noble—but glossed in 627.

l. 433: *tent*, watch—but glossed in 444.

l. 437: *may*, make.

l. 443: *The fals tratour that here was lentt*, where *lentt* is rendered

'placed.' The phrase *to be lent* means, however, 'to tarry, remain, dwell, abide' (*NED*, *lend* vb. 1, 3 b).

1. 468: *assay*, which in the corresponding line in the York play is *saie*, cannot mean 'say' here but simply 'attempt, venture.'

1. 502: *Oure walkyng, lord, withoutten wene, Is worth to noght*, The Northern spelling *walkyng* for *wakyng* (the latter is found in the York play) should have been pointed out.

1. 504: *went fro us on raw*, where *on raw* can hardly mean 'straight' (no such sense-development recorded in *NED*) but must refer to the Milites who were lying *on raw*, in a line.

1. 519: *trast*, assured (cf. l. 133 above).

1. 543: *tent*, heed (cf. l. 433 above).

1. 578-9: *Wyt thou well I hyd hym noght, / Then bare hym nawre with me*, where *then* is incorrectly glossed 'thence.' It means 'nor'—see *NED*, *than* 3 b.

1. 593-4: *For to my Fader, tell I the, / Yit steyynd I noght*, where *steyynd* is rendered too freely 'ascended' (as in *EETS*); the meaning is 'to direct one's course, to go.'

1. 610: *fro*, as soon as, when, should have been glossed.

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THE BEAST-EATING CLOWN

THE TWO NOBLE KINSMEN, 3. 5. 131

In his prologue to the morris that is subsequently to be danced by the villagers before Theseus, Hippolyta and their train in Fletcher and Shakespeare's *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (Act 3, Sc. 5), Gerrold, the verbose schoolmaster, enumerates the principal characters in the dance: "The Lord of May and Lady bright," the Chambermaid, the Servingman, "mine host with his fat spouse," followed by "the beast-eating Clown, and next the Fool, / The Bavian . . . / Cum multis aliis that make a dance."

By comparing this account with the earlier part of the same scene and with the stage-directions that precede it, we have no difficulty in assigning the principal parts to the male and female members of the cast. There were obviously "four Countrymen" present to play the Lord of May, the Servingman, the Host, and the Clown; a fifth countryman to perform the important rôle of the Fool or Bavian; and a sixth, named Timothy, who was the Tabourer. On the distaff side, the "Wenches" Friz, Maudline,

Luce, Barbary, Nell, and the Jailer's Daughter (in default of "Cicely, the sempster's daughter") were the Lady of May, the Chambermaid, the Hostess, and three other unspecified dancers.

A superficial reading of the Schoolmaster's speech may easily convey the impression that this specific morris group had two fools, the Clown and the Bavian. Skeat¹ evidently thought so, for in his notes to this passage he mentions "the Bavian or Tumbler, and the Clown or Jester, who was seldom absent from such festivities." Yet lines 131-142, quoted above, leave no doubt as to the identity of the Fool and the Bavian, a fact already pointed out by Rolfe² and E. K. Chambers,³ although neither tried to explain the simultaneous and mysterious presence of the beast-eating clown. The wording of the text proves that the latter was not at all the traditional jester, for Clown and Fool are clearly contrasted here. Moreover, Gerrold's solicitude for the Bavian and for his behavior in the presence of the ladies (ll. 33-38), as well as the total lack of reference to any other fool in the first 130 lines of this scene, shows that the Bavian filled the functions of the Jester and the Tumbler. Chambers, who quotes ll. 125-133, says that "evidently some of these *dramatis personae* are not traditional; the ingenuity of the presenter has been at work on them." This may well be so. Yet, in the early sword-dances, from which the morris-dance is doubtless descended,⁴ we find such characters as a pitman, a tailor, a skipper, a vintner, etc.; a friar often appears in the morris-dance proper.⁵ In Master Gerrold's arrangement we encounter instead a clown, that is, a rustic with no other apparent function than being a typical country bumpkin.

That such is the case becomes immediately clear when we compare this morris-dance with its source, the Second Antimasque of Beaumont's *The Masque of the Inner Temple and Grayes Inne*,⁶

¹ *Shakespeare and Fletcher, The Two Noble Kinsmen*, ed. by W. W. Skeat (Cambridge, 1875), p. 132.

² *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, ed. by W. J. Rolfe (New York, 1883), p. 182. Rolfe did not notice the inconsistency between his own statement, "The Fool and the Bavian are of course the same character," and his verbatim quotation from Skeat (without any comment).

³ *The Mediaeval Stage* (Oxford, 1903), I, p. 196, fn. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 195.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 193.

⁶ This is the title of the Quarto, of which the Elizabethan Club at Yale

which was presented at Whitehall on February 20th, 1612. It, too, had a Pedant, a May Lord and his Lady, a Servingman and a Chambermaid, a Host and a Hostess, but two Bavians and two Fools—a "Hee Baboone" and a "Shee Baboone," a "Hee Foole" and a "Shee Foole"—as well as "A Countrey Clowne, or Shepheard" and a "Countrey Wench." All these persons were "apparelled to the life, the Men issuing out of one side of the Boscage, and the Woemen from the other: the Musicke was extremely well fitted, having such a spirit of Countrey jolitie, as can hardly be imagined, but the perpetuall laughter and applause was above the Musicke."⁷

Having thus determined the precise function of the clown as an uncouth rustic, very likely a shepherd, we are still faced with the problem of "beast-eating." This unusual epithet, so spelled in the 1634 Quarto of the play, has remained an unsolved puzzle down to the present day. Skeat by-passed it by expurgating the two lines (131-132), but Littledale⁸ quoted Mason's suggestion, "Why the beast-eating clown? I should read beef-eating," adding a soundly sceptical query, "Why beef-eating?" Rolfe,⁹ mentioning Mason's conjecture "beef-eating," accepted instead Hudson's interpretation "eating like a beast" as probably correct. Kittredge¹⁰ offers no explanation of the compound.

No emendation to "beef," nor any forced interpretation like Hudson's is necessary in order to arrive at the true meaning of "beast-eating." *Beast* is merely a variant spelling of *beest* (< OE *bēost*), the milk which a cow gives for the first few days after calving. The word, which is recorded in *NED* as late as 1796,

possesses a copy. The Second Folio version, which is entitled *The Masque of the Gentlemen of Grayes-Inne and the Inner-Temple*, does not list the characters in the morris-dance but gives only this stage-direction: "The second Anti-Masque [rush] in, [dance] their measure, and as rudely depart." See *The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher*, ed. by A. R. Waller (Cambridge, 1912), x, pp. 284 and 378 ff. Cf. also Hazelton Spencer, *The Art and Life of William Shakespeare* (New York, 1940), p. 380. Evidently Skeat and other commentators were unaware of the origin of the masque in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*.

⁷ Waller, *op. cit.* p. 383.

⁸ *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, Rev. ed. from the Quarto of 1634, by H. Littledale (London, 1876), I, p. 148.

⁹ *Op. cit.* p. 182.

¹⁰ *The Complete Works of Shakespeare* (Boston, 1936).

is still current in English dialects (*EDD*); a very common derivative is *beestings* (< OE *bȳsting*) with the same meaning (*NED* and *EDD*). *Beest(ings)* is commonly used by farmers, particularly in the Midland and Northern counties, for making puddings, a favorite dish with them; in some parts of the country, however, notably in the South (Kent, Somerset, Devon, Wiltshire), it is not considered fit for human consumption or is at least regarded as unwholesome (see quotations in *EDD*). Fletcher and Shakespeare seem to have shared this opinion when they made Master Garrold refer sneeringly to the clown as "beast-eating."

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OLIVE AGAIN

Several years ago, an article of mine, "The Middle English and Old Norse Story of Olive,"¹ was made the occasion of a four-page note by Mr. Henning Larsen,² who sought to correct "some inaccuracies" and to add some "material that might strengthen" my contention that the Old Norwegian *Landres þáttur* is a close translation of the lost ME romance of **Olive and Landres*. Recently I re-read Mr. Larsen's observations, after a lapse of years had considerably dimmed my familiarity with the whole subject, and I saw that, to a person not freshly informed, they have a weight which I had once supposed to be out of the question. Some part of this weight is derived from a kind of lexical argument which invites inspection, the more so because it has become very common in recent years. For these reasons, with apologies for bringing up ancient—and very small—history, I should like to reconsider and to present the rebuttal which originally seemed to me unnecessary.

The evidence which I offered as showing that the *Landres þáttur* must have closely followed its English original consists of a baker's

¹ *PMLA*, LIV (1941), 69-84. A translation of the whole *Landres þáttur* has appeared in *Survivals in Old Norwegian*, by F. P. Magoun Jr. and the present writer (Connecticut College Monographs No. 1, 1941), pp. 3-27.

² "Olive and Landres," *JEGP*, XL (1941), 526-29.

dozen of clichés; these, though normal enough as rhyme-tags or "line-fillers" in a ME metrical romance, would probably not have been retained in any prose translation save the most literal. I preferred this stylistic evidence to any evidence based on *vocabulary*. To say that this or that word in the *Landres þáttr* must be a survival from the English original, *i. e.*, an *ad hoc* borrowing by the Norwegian translator, seemed to me then, and seems to me now, to be hazardous. It involves denying the previous existence of the word in ON, and this we can do only by making the very large assumption that all words in ON found their way into writing and subsequently into a dictionary. Citing Grundtvig, I did, however, mention one apparent case of word-borrowing (*stivarðr* from "steward"), with the comment that the Norse translator evidently did not quite understand what a *stivarðr* was, a fact which obviously speaks strongly in favor of the word's being a genuinely new importation. Mr. Larsen, after making the surprising assertion that I undervalue *stivarðr* and do so, moreover, *because the translator did not know what it meant*, offers other instances of word-borrowing which I "might have quoted."

These are four in number: *soppa af víni* ("sop of wine"), *mösurker* (*mösur*, "maple" + *ker*, "vessel": "mazerbowl"), *syrkot* ("surcoat"), and *linore*, or better, *livore* (evidently the French *l'ivoire*). It may seem churlish to disparage evidences offered in support of my own case, but the best of these appear to me to illustrate nicely the hazard of the universal negative alluded to above. On the authority of ON dictionaries, Mr. Larsen argues that the phrase *soppa af víni* was not current in Norse before the *Landres þáttr* was written, and thus can be considered a survival of the English original. But it so happens that the first appearance of the English idiom "sop of wine" to be recorded in the *NED* is Chaucer's—and it is one hundred years later than the *Landres þáttr*. For the purpose of the argument, the ON dictionaries are here assumed to be exhaustive; for the purpose of the same argument, the *NED* is acknowledged not to be exhaustive (and is set right). The second example, *mösurker*, recalls "the familiar English mazerbowl"; unfortunately, as Mr. Larsen notes, it has recorded Norse cognates, which suggests that it may have been a "familiar" word in Norse, too. One of these cognates is actually *mösurbolli* ("mazerbowl"), found in *Heimskringla* and elsewhere.

We are thus in the position of arguing that *mösurker* in the *Landres þáttir* is a survival of "the familiar English *mazerbowl*," although "mazerbowl" was already represented in the translator's own language by *mösurbolli*! Furthermore, the compound "mazerbowl" is first recorded in the *NED* under the date 1562-3. The third example, *syrkot*, is a case similar to *soppa af víni*. As to *livore* (*livoire*), so far from indicating close translation from English, it would suggest that the original of the *Landres þáttir* was not English at all, but French. Missing from Mr. Larsen's list is the rare word *tortís* (Unger, p. 52; "candle"), which disappointingly turns up also in *Mariu saga* and thus loses eligibility as a nonce-word. Missing, too, is *kopar* (Unger, p. 57) in the sense of "copper (tub)," which might surely have been included, if we are to use this variety of evidence.³

Once he has thus buttressed my case, Mr. Larsen turns face about to attack it. In citing evidences of close translation, I conclude by pointing out that the benediction at the end of the *Landres þáttir* is introduced by the words "And here ends this tale with the formula: Jesus Christ bless (etc.)." I am accused of supposing that *benedictions* are not found in ON literature. Nothing could have been further from my mind. Benedictions are common in Norse; they are also very common in ME romances.⁴ The point is that neither in Norse nor English are benedictions ordinarily introduced by a reference to their presence in an original. As for my remaining thirteen examples, Mr. Larsen says simply, "These may

³ In his discussion of *stivarðr*, to which I have alluded above, Mr. Larsen tosses in the word *trúðr* ("juggler") as perhaps also "a loan from the English (see Fritzner s. v.)"; "both words [*stivarðr* and *trúðr*] suggest English origin." The basis for this judgment—which can hardly be Fritzner—is impossible to guess. *Trúðr* appears in ON from the eleventh century or earlier on down to Modern Icelandic (in which *trúður* still means "juggler"—see Blöndal, s. v.). OE *truð* ("trumpeter") is rare by comparison, and we might almost argue that the English word is borrowed from the Norse. Certainly there is no reason for saying that *trúðr* in the *Landres þáttir* suggests English origin.

⁴ To choose a couple of examples at random: "All that hath herd this talkyng, Iesu them graunt good ending, He bryng hem all to hevyn blis, That euer shall laste and never mys, To that blis bryng vs he, That flor vs died vpon a tree!" (*Bevis*); "God for hys names seuyng Graunt vs all þe blysse of heuyn, And gyf vs grace þat hyt so bee: Amen, amen for charyte!" (*Guy of Warwick*.)

or may not be evidence of close translation of the original; late sagas love to cite authorities." This indictment would be more crushing if my evidences consisted to any crucial extent of citations of authorities; actually, most of them are such phrases as "May God give her shame," "Now you may listen to what I tell you," "without any joking," "who was both wise and fair," and the like.

Mr. Larsen devotes the remaining third of his article to three matters found in my footnotes; as they were thus from the beginning not very central to my argument, I shall deal with them briefly. First: I remarked that a *blámaðr* ("black man") who appears in the story "may be a Moor rather than a negro." Mr. Larsen labels this suggestion "unwarranted," because the *Landres þátttr* describes the *blámaðr* with such terms as "coal-black of body," "white only as to teeth and eyes," "his black hands"! It would appear that Mr. Larsen had forgotten that the expression "black as Moor" is a commonplace in ME, that ME literature contains many Moors who are "black as coal" or "black as pitch," that even as late as Shakespeare the Moor Othello was a "black man." My second "inaccuracy" occurs in the same footnote. To save time, I shall simply re-state it more fully: The *blámaðr* delivers an orotund and high-flown speech (which I quote and translate, p. 72, n. 17a); this is the only scrap of high-flown language in the *Landres þátttr*; as such, it serves admirably to characterize the exotic stranger and was palpably meant to do just that. The remaining "inaccuracy" occurs in note 3 (p. 69), where I pass along a suggestion of H. G. Leach's, without endorsing it or disparaging it, to anybody who may be interested. Mr. Larsen finds that Mr. Leach's suggestion is not a good one and taxes me with having brought it to his attention. In his final criticism, as throughout his article, Mr. Larsen seems to me not to have altered the picture very profoundly.

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SOME WORDS IN GEOFFREY FENTON'S *CERTAINE TRAGICALL DISCOURSES*

Fenton's vocabulary in *Certaine Tragicall Discourses* (1567), his translation of thirteen of Bandello's *novelle* through the medium

of Francois de Belleforest's *Histoires tragiques*, is richer than in any of his later translations. Many words are borrowed from French, some from Greek and Latin. A few words are not represented in the *New English Dictionary*, and a number he uses earlier than the other instances noted. The most important words are as follows:

colcarrier: whom he requested by a letter vnder the conduit of this colcarior (08v). This word, signifying "a messenger," was evidently coined by Fenton on the analogy of the French *colporteur*.

huishyng: the pleasante huishyng of a cleare streame (Mm3r). Onomatopoeic. *NED* records *hush* (1868), "the sound made by water flowing swiftly but smoothly."

jonking: the heauenly Jonkinge of the Nytyngal (H8v). Onomatopoeic. There is an entry in *NED* for *jug*, "an imitative representation of one of the notes of the nightingale."

limitrophall: the lymytrophall townes adioyning their countrey (K8r). *Ibid.*, Llr. The word means "neighboring." *NED* has *limitrophing* and *limitrophous*.

pololugos: the malyce of certeine Pololvgos redye alwayes vpon one simple occasion (H6v). Here the word, used in the plural, signifies "a gossiping person." *NED* records *polylogy*, meaning "loquacity." Its first recorded use, also in the plural, is 1602 R. T. *Five Godlie Sermons* 287.

biggined: howe well they be begunned that be coyffed wyth a night capp of suche stoofe as wrapped the emptie heade of our Lyvyo (F7r). As meaning "wearing a biggin," the first occurrence in *NED* is 1607 R. C. tr. *Stephens's Worlde Wond.* 235.

bodkin: her chief and common exercise there, was to force a frizilacion of her haire, with the bodkind (S5r). As meaning "a frizzling-iron," the first occurrence in *NED* is 1580 Baret *Alv.* B874.

bugbear: his common exercise was to kepe her companie euery night alone in her chamber, leaste the Levtyns and daungerous bogbeares appearinge by visions in the night should put her in feare (H6v). As meaning "a sort of hobgoblin," the earliest example in *NED* is 1581 J. Bell *Haddon's Answ. Osor.* 10b.

canvasado: you haue proued . . . wyth what canuisadoes the trenche maye be suddainly inuaded (F17v). As meaning "a sudden attack," the first occurrence in *NED* is 1581 J. Bell *Haddon's Answ. Osor.* 381.

cataplasme: her whome he accompted the sufferayne Cataplasme for his mortall disease (R3r). As used in the figurative sense meaning "a cure," the first occurrence in *NED* is 1622 Fletcher *Spanish Cur.* IV. v. 170.

complot: after he had consumed certeine howers in reauyng and raginge vppon hys amarus complot (L17v). The word is not used here in any sinister sense; it signifies simply "a plan." *NED* records it as meaning "a design of a covert nature planned in concert; a conspiracy"; the first occurrence is 1577 Holinshed *Chron.* II. 573.

curtal: ye impudente and wicked liffe of suche double curtalls as shee was (K6r). As meaning "a drab," the earliest example in *NED* is 1611 Cotgrave *Caignardiere*.

diamantine: power to mollefy . . . this Dyamantyn harte of your mistres (Mm8v). As meaning "adamantine," the earliest example in *NED* is 1591 Sylvester *Du Bartas* I. iv. (1641) 35/2.

didopper: such . . . huswyues as Pandora haue no small store 'to couer their faultes' and make theym seme maydenlike (although they haue alreadie playd the dydopper) (H8r). The first occurrence of this word, meaning "a small diving water fowl," here applied ludicrously to a person, in *NED* is 1589 *Pappe with Hatchet* 3.

estocade: he wreaked his collar vpon the poore girle to whome he gaue iii. or iiij. estockados with hys dagger (H3v). *Ibid.*, M4v. The earliest example of this word, meaning "a thrust with an estoc," recorded by *NED* is 1579 Fenton *Guicciardin*. Bk. II, 104.

fielden: the chirpyn hermyne of the feelden birdes (Mm3r). *Ibid.*, Oo7v. As meaning "rural, rustic," the first occurrence in *NED* is 1620 tr. *Boccaccio's Decameron* 161.

haggard: nor [will] anye deuise serue to reclaime her haggarde mynd seaming but to quarrel wyth all offers of curtesie (Z5r-Z5v). In the figurative sense, as meaning "froward, contraire, crosse, vnsociable" (Cotgrave), the first occurrence in *NED* is 1580 Lyly *Euphues* (Arb.) 114.

helluo: our Helloes . . . close their eares against the lamẽtable cries of the needie (Kk4r). As meaning "a glutton," the first occurrence in *NED* is 1583 Stubbes *Anat. Abus.* I. (1879) 102.

nestle-cock: this faire ympp and veraye nestcockle of nature (L15r). As meaning "a spoilt or delicate child or youth," the first occurrence in *NED* is 1626 Middleton *Anything for Quiet Life* IV. I. 136.

strip: she strippes the mountes, and by extreame labor, arryued at last at Parys (Hh7r). Here the word signifies "to pass by in travelling." The examples cited in *NED* have rather the meaning of "to outstrip."

tossopot: a traine of dashbucklers or squaringe tospottes (Q3v). As meaning "a toper, drunkard," the first occurrence in *NED* is 1577 tr. *Bullinger's Decades* (1592) 153.

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A GEOGRAPHICAL PROBLEM IN *TROILUS*
AND *CRISEYDE*

An unnoticed geographical problem is presented by Chaucer's description of the dawning of the day when Troilus expects Criseyde to return from the Greek camp. There we read how

The laurer-crowned Phebus, with his heete,
Gan, in his course ay upward as he wente,
To warmen of the *est see* the wawes weete,
And Nysus doughter song with fresshe entente,
Whan Troilus his Pandare after sente;
And on the walles of the town they pleyde,
To loke if they kan sen aught of Criseyde.¹

The description in the first four lines is one of the passages in the *Troilus* where Chaucer is not translating or paraphrasing *Il Filostrato*; ² the idea and the imagery are his own; yet he must have realized that the Greeks had to sail from the west in order to reach Troy. What could have encouraged him to allow the sea to extend in just the opposite direction? ³

Merely to admire the sensuous imagery and to plead "poetic license" is perhaps the easy, and certainly the unrewarding, way out. For this description raises a question beyond that of mere accuracy: it brings the question of whether, for *Troilus and Criseyde*, Chaucer imagined to any great extent the environs of Troy. Another passage, a few lines later, enforces the idea that Chaucer visualized the scene partly in terms of geographical directions:

¹ See *Troilus and Criseyde*, v, 1107-1113. The text used is F. N. Robinson (ed), *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Boston, etc., [1933]). Here and later I italicize certain words to aid the reader.

² The last three lines are based on *Il Filostrato*, vii, 1.

³ In none of the maps published in the following treatises have I found any hint that Chaucer's "est see" came from a map: A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile Atlas to the Early History of Cartography*, tr. J. A. Ekelöf and C. R. Markham (Stockholm, 1889); A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Periplus: an Essay on the Early History of Charts and Sailing Directions*, tr. F. A. Bather (Stockholm, 1897); K. Miller, *Mappae mundi: die ältesten Weltkarten herausgegeben und erläutert* (6 parts; Stuttgart, 1895-1898).

And on the morwe unto the yate he wente,
 And up and down, by west and ek by este,
 Upon the walles made he many a wente.⁴

Here is a hint that Chaucer may have thought of the coastline near Troy as running more or less in an easterly and westerly direction. A slight bit of confirmation for this supposition is found in Criseyde's promise to herself that

I shal to-morwe at nyght, by est or west,
 Out of this oost stele on som manere syde,
 And gon with Troilus where as hym lest.⁵

These three passages combine to offer evidence of a curious geographical misconception in Chaucer's mind. The explanation, I think, is revealed by the following lines from a later poem, the *Legend of Hypsipyle*.

So fyl it, so as fame renneth wide,
 There was swich tydyng overal and swich loos,
 That in an yle that called was Colcos,
Beyonde Troye, estward in the se,
 That therin was a ram, that men mighte se,
 That hadde a fles of gold. . . .⁶

In erroneously making Colchis an island, Chaucer followed Guido de Columnis, his avowed source for this portion of the *Legend*.⁷ The corresponding passage in Guido is also the source of Chaucer's locating Colchis "Beyonde Troye, estward in the se."

Tandem de re mirabili diebus illis per plurima mundi loca loquax fama auribus plurimorum intonuit quod in quadam insula dicta Colcos *ultra regni Troyani confinia uersus orientalem plagam* quidam aries habebatur, cuius vellus erat aureum, ut fame preconium perhibebat.

This sentence opens the third paragraph of Liber I of the *Historia destructionis Troiae*, a volume evidently known to Chaucer when he wrote the *Troilus*.⁸ I suggest, then, that as he studied the Troy

⁴ See *T. and C.*, v, 1192-1194; *Filostrato*, vii, 14: 3, reads "Ma poco valse in su e 'n giù guardare."

⁵ See *T. and C.*, v, 751-753; *Filostrato*, vi, 7, mentions no directions.

⁶ See *Legend of Good Women*, 1423-1428.

⁷ See *L. G. W.*, 1396, 1464; Robinson, pp. 963-4.

⁸ See Guido de Columnis, *Historia destructionis Troiae*, ed. N. E. Griffin (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), pp. 6-7. The corresponding portion of Benoît mentions "l'isle de Colcos en mer," but gives no hint of its direction; see

story, Chaucer received from this early passage in Guido the impression of a sea stretching to the east, beyond Troy. If this be so, then the presence of "the est see" in our first passage was no error at all from the point of view of Chaucer and others who knew their Guido; rather it is evidence of Chaucer's imaginative visualization of the locale of his story of *Troilus and Criseyde*.

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MELVILLE'S LIVERPOOL TRIP

Students of Herman Melville have long been curious about the actual events of his trip to Liverpool, which form the substance of his novel *Redburn* (1849). Nineteenth century biographers, as well as Melville's wife, assigned the voyage to 1837.¹ The chief modern biographers, Raymond M. Weaver, John Freeman, and Lewis Mumford, have accepted this date, and assuming that Melville was telling the story of his life in *Redburn*, they have presented whole episodes from *Redburn's* experiences as Melville's own.² The ship Melville sailed on has never been identified, nor has any information been discovered about the captain and the crew, who constitute most of the *dramatis personae* in *Redburn*. A study of a letter of Melville's mother, now in the Gansevoort-Lansing Collection in the New York Public Library, has finally established the correct

Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. L. Constans, I (Paris, 1904), 40: l. 765. Chaucer mentions Guido in *The House of Fame*, 1469. On the use of Guido in the *Troilus*, see K. Young, *The Origin and Development of the Story of Troilus and Criseyde* ("Chaucer Society Publications, Second Series," No. 40 [London, 1908]), pp. 105-31.

¹ See the article on Melville in *The Cyclopaedia of American Literature*, New York, 1855, II, 672-6, which was edited by Melville's friends, Evert A. and George L. Duyckinck; the memorandum by Mrs. Melville, made about the time of his death (MS. in the possession of Mrs. Henry K. Metcalf, who has kindly permitted me to examine it); J. E. A. Smith, *Herman Melville. Written for the Evening Journal*, Pittsfield, 1891, p. 8; Titus M. Coan, "Herman Melville," *The Literary World*, XXII, 492, Dec. 19, 1891; and Arthur Stedman, Introduction to *Typee*, New York, 1892, p. xvi.

² See Weaver, *Herman Melville, Mariner and Mystic*, New York, 1921, pp. 77-112, and *passim*; Freeman, *Herman Melville*, London, 1926, pp. 10-18; Mumford, *Herman Melville*, New York, 1929, pp. 20-36.

date of the Liverpool trip, and the identity of the ship Melville calls the *Highlander* in *Redburn*.

This hitherto unpublished letter gives much direct information about Melville on the eve of his departure from home for New York and Liverpool. It is written hastily, with the sudden transitions and loose punctuation and spelling which characterize Maria Melville's worst epistolary style. She writes

1st June 1839^a

My dear Gans^t * —

Your letter of yesterday was receiv'd & preparations forthwith commenced Herman is happy but I think at heart he is rather agitated, I can hardly believe it & cannot realize the truth of his going both my boys gone in one week

How uncertain & changeing are all things here below—but no more of this or you will stop reading. I have put up all I had for Herman that I thought would be useful, endeavour to procure for him everything within the range of his means that will make him comfortable. write me where his Vessel is bound, and the probable time of his Sailing. Helen went over to Waterford yesterday with Catherine and Leoenard & has not yet come back She will feel bad to have him go without his seeing her—send Allan up at once—I was rejoiced to hear of your safe arrival without injury—

My respects to Mrs B— & Husband accept my best love my dear Son from your mother

Maria⁵

Thus it appears that Melville left home about June 1, 1839. Redburn's ship, the *Highlander*, left New York "very early in the month of June,"⁶ and spent about four months on the trip to Liverpool and back.⁷ Of all the ships which left New York harbor early in June, 1839, only one fulfills the time schedule of the *Highlander*.⁸ The *St. Lawrence*, a merchantman of 356.58 tons, owned by Howland and Aspinwall and Oliver P. Brown,⁹ sailed

^a This date has been erroneously printed as 1837 by Charles R. Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas*, New York, 1939, p. 442, n. 7, and by William Braswell, *Melville's Religious Thought*, Durham, 1943, p. 128, n. 15.

* Gansevoort Melville, Herman's older brother.

⁵ The letter is addressed "Gansevoort Melville Esq, New York, 19th Street, a three Story house 2 doors from the 9th Avenue, Care of Herman Melville."

⁶ *Redburn*, Constable Edition, London, 1922, p. 92.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 394, 395, 396.

⁸ See the lists of Vessels Cleared and Vessels Arrived in the *Shipping and Commercial List and New York Price Current*, June 1-October 19, 1839.

⁹ According to her registry records. She was built in Duxbury, Mass., in 1833, and burned in 1856.

from New York for Liverpool on June 5 and returned on September 30.¹⁰ From this and from the following evidence, it can now be established with certainty that Melville made his first ocean voyage on this ship.

The official crew list of this vessel bears the name of "Norman Melville, Place of Birth, New York, Place of Residence, New York City, Citizen of the United States, Age 19, Height 5 feet 8½ inches, Complexion light, Hair brown." The confusion of Herman with Norman is not difficult to account for. In Melville's signature to a letter he wrote in 1837,¹¹ the "Herman" could easily be mistaken for Norman at a cursory glance. The crossbar of the *H* is long and slanting like the middle stroke of an *N*, and the *e* is sufficiently ambiguous to pass for an *o*. In Melville's initials added to a postscript, the *H* is indistinguishable from an *N*. The scribe of the crew list, a government clerk, was probably not given to precise distinctions in the handwriting of sailors. Melville was born in New York City on August 1, 1819. He was 19 years old in June, 1839. He was living at Lansingburgh, but all the other sailors gave the port of sailing, New York City, as their residence and Melville obviously followed this custom.¹² On the crew list of the *Acushnet*, on which Melville sailed a year and a half later, he appears as 5 feet 9½ inches tall.¹³ He could easily have grown an inch in the interim.

Further proof that the *St. Lawrence* is the *Highlander* lies in correspondences between the two crews that could scarcely be explained on the grounds of coincidence. One of the sailors on the *Highlander* is called an "Irish cockney," because he had been born in Ireland but had become an Englishman. The fifteenth member of the crew of the *St. Lawrence* was "James Johnson, Place of Birth, Ireland, Citizen of Great Britain." The principal character on the *Highlander* is a sailor named Jackson, "a native of New

¹⁰ The dates are established officially by annotations made by the Inspector of New York Port on the copy of the crew list, now in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

¹¹ Dated Pittsfield, December 31, 1837, and now in the Gansevoort-Lansing Collection in the New York Public Library. Published in V. H. Paltsits, *Family Correspondence of Herman Melville*, New York, 1929, pp. 5-7.

¹² He gave his residence as Fairhaven when he signed on the *Acushnet*. See Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

¹³ Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

York City,"¹⁴ of sinister appearance and indeterminate age—"He might have seen thirty, or perhaps fifty years," says Redburn.¹⁵ A "Robert Jackson, Place of Birth, New York, Age 31," was on the *St. Lawrence*. Finally, one of the acquaintances Redburn makes on his first voyage is a sailor from Greenland, of whom there could hardly have been very many in the American merchant marine. The last name on the crew list of the *St. Lawrence* is "Peter Brown, Place of Birth, Greenland, Citizen of Greenland."

The captain of the *St. Lawrence* was Oliver P. Brown, who was also part owner of the ship. Whether he was the actual model for Captain Riga of the *Highlander* remains to be seen. Redburn's hard-bargaining master was by Melville's account a native of Russia who had become an American citizen. Oliver P. Brown sounds strikingly American. He may have been a New England Yankee, like most of the New York shipmasters and owners.

While it is not the purpose of this brief article to examine the full implications of Maria Melville's letter and the official papers of the *St. Lawrence*, a few simple conclusions may be stated. Melville made his first voyage in 1839, not 1837 as has been supposed. He was a man of twenty and not the boy of seventeen whom his biographers have assumed him to be. In writing *Redburn* he reproduced certain elements of time and place, like the schedule of the ship which took him to Liverpool and back, and he used men from real life for the basis of his portraits. But he changed materially the whole story of his leaving home and getting the job on the *St. Lawrence*, as a comparison between his mother's letter and the opening chapters of *Redburn* will readily show. Furthermore, he made his hero a young boy and gave him all the callowness, exaggerated sensitivity, and naiveté which suited his years. Unless Melville's psychological development was arrested to an incredible degree, he must at the age of twenty have long outgrown the character he creates for Wellingborough Redburn. The ways in which Melville reproduced his own experience in *Redburn* and the ways in which he altered it to achieve his artistic ends are the subject of a detailed study being made by the present author. For the moment, the materials presented in this article, together with others too involved for inclusion, provide grounds for a vigorous

¹⁴ *Redburn*, p. 71.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

challenge to the school which identifies Melville with Redburn and accepts *Redburn* as Melville's autobiography.

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TYRKIR, FIRST GERMAN IN NORTH AMERICA

A recent edition of the Icelandic texts concerning the Norse voyages to North America *ca.* 1000-1007 A. D.¹ gives fresh impetus to a study of these documents from the point of view not only of the pre-Columbian history of North America but also of various matters of detail contained in them. Of these Icelandic texts the most important, next to *Eiríks saga rauða*, is *Grænlendinga þáttur*² or "Tale of the Greenlanders" (i. e., of the Icelandic colonists in Greenland), which *inter alia* contains a well-defined episode centering upon one Tyrkir,³ a German, perhaps a Rhinelander, and foster-father of Leif the Lucky ("Leifr inn heppni").

What *Grænlendinga þáttur* has to tell about Tyrkir and his conduct involves two passages, of which the first (*ed. cit.*, p. 50, ll. 3-4) is merely the casual statement: "There was one German in the expedition whose name was Tyrkir."⁴ The second passage (*ibid.*, p. 51, ll. 9-29) tells a good deal more:

One evening news came that a man was missing from their group, and it was Tyrkir the German. Leif was greatly distressed by this because Tyrkir had been with him and his father (Eric the Red) for a long time and had been very fond of Leif in his childhood. Leif now rebuked his companions sharply and set out in search of him (Tyrkir) with twelve men. They had, however, got but a little way from the hut when Tyrkir came

¹ Halldór Hermansson, ed., *The Vinland Sagas* ("Islandica," Vol. xxx), Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell Univ. Press, 1944; on the chronology see *idem*, *The Problem of Wineland* ("Islandica" Vol. xxv), Ithaca, 1936, pp. 47-48.

² *Ed. cit.*, pp. 45-65; on this text see further *The Problem of Wineland*, pp. 32-46.

³ For the Icelandic text see *ed. cit.*, pp. 50, ll. 3-4, and 51, ll. 9-29; the same in E. V. Gordon, *An Introduction to Old Norse* (Oxford, 1927, and later printings), pp. 46-47. See *Wineland*, pp. 38-39; *Vinland Sagas*, p. 63, *ad loc.*, for notes.

⁴ On this name, perhaps somehow corresponding to Low German "Dirk" (reduced form of Dietrich), see *Speculum*, xx (1945), 357.

toward them and was very pleased (to see them). Leif noticed that his foster-father was in good spirits (*skapgott*).

He (Tyrkir) had a prominent forehead and a shifty gaze, had small features, was of slight build and ill-favored looking, yet he was a man skilled in all sorts of craftsmanship.

Then Leif said to him, "Why are you so late, foster-father? and (how did you get) separated from the people you were with?" Then he (Tyrkir) first talked German for a long time and swayed his eyes from side to side and grimaced, but they didn't understand what he was saying. Then after a time he spoke Norse, "I wasn't away much longer than you two (?). I have some news to tell: I found grape-vines and grapes." "Can that be true, foster-father?" said Leif. "Certainly it's true," he said, "because I was born where there was no lack of grape-vines or grapes."

Then they slept the night through, and in the morning Leif said to his crew, "Now there are two jobs to be done: each day we'll alternately pick grapes and cut down grape-vines and fell wood to make up a cargo for my ship."

The foregoing narrative contains a number of features, of which some are quite clear, others open to more than one interpretation. The central figure is Tyrkir, a German and no doubt the first German to set foot on the North American continent. No proper biography can, it is true, be constructed, but some picture of his life is possible. He was brought up, he says, in a part of Germany where viticulture was known, and for this locality in the tenth century one can think only of the Rhine or Mosel valleys: thus Tyrkir was very likely a Rhine or Mosel Frank. He had evidently been out of Germany for some years. The text tells us that he had long been with Eric the Red and Leif Ericson, long enough, in fact, to have known the latter since his childhood. The events here described would appear to have taken place *ca.* 1005, when Leif was perhaps about thirty and Eric between fifty and sixty years of age, so that Tyrkir must have been in Iceland since *ca.* 980. That he should speak Icelandic (*norræna*) fluently was only natural. He was probably about Eric's age and thus about fifty-five years old; one might put his birth-year tentatively at A. D. 950. Nothing further can be inferred about him, except that he was a skilled craftsman (*íþróttamaðr á alls konar hagleik*). On his physical appearance, to which a line or two is devoted, see below.

The chief event of the episode narrated centers upon the familiar situation of a man getting lost in the woods. Tyrkir had gone out with some of Leif's men and had become separated from them, in

other words, had got lost, though evidently only for a short time. Note his subsequent statement to Eric that he had been away scarcely longer than the search party. The men return without him, Leif is not unnaturally worried about his foster-father, rebukes the men for having lost track of him, and with twelve others sets out to look for him. They find him as he is making his way back to camp. The reunion is happy and Tyrkir is in good spirits (*var skapgott*). The word *skapgott* should probably be understood as indicating not, as we shall see, that Tyrkir was "high" or "merry" but rather that he had *not* been disturbed by his temporary separation from the crowd with which he originally set out. Eric asks him why he is so late—one imagines, in the half-scolding tone of a mother relieving her pent-up anxiety after finding a lost child.

Then follows a scene the significance of which has been interpreted in more than one way. The issue has centered on Tyrkir's outburst into German, his mother tongue and unintelligible to his companions, and on his accompanying behavior: his swaying his eyes from side to side and grimacing (*skaut marga vega augunum ok gretti sik*). These gestures, together with the statement that he was on his return *skapgott* and in connection with the fact that he also reported the discovery of grape-vines (*vínvið ok vínber*), have commonly been taken as an indication that Tyrkir was drunk.⁵

Thus, the first question to settle is whether he was or was not drunk on his return from the forest. It is quite true that, if Tyrkir had perchance remembered from his boyhood enough about wine-making, he could under favorable circumstances have made wine or at least a wine of sorts from the poor grapes of Vinland, but the circumstances as here described or suggested are all against such a possibility. To produce wine or even an intoxicating beverage made from grapes, all he would need to have done would be to mash up some grapes in a container, even in the hollow of a rock or stone, and let the mash ferment. In reasonably warm weather

⁵ See Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 193, note 185. In *The Problem of Wineland*, p. 38 (at bottom), Hermannsson states that Tyrkir was drunk; in *The Vinland Sagas* (p. 63, note to p. 51, l. 23) he assumes that the purport of the narrative is that he was drunk, though he appears to recognize the inherent unlikelihood of the fact and attributes the story to "some Icelandic story-teller's ignorance of the nature of grapes" rather than to the influence of an Oriental story, as suggested by A. H. Krappe, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, LVIII (1943), 268-274.

he could thus at the end of four or five days have had a brew that would be thoroughly intoxicating. This would not have been wine properly speaking but it would have been something to get drunk on, namely, a partly fermented must containing some percentage of alcohol and other toxic elements. The potency of such "new wine" or must is well known; partakers of it can become quite wild. However, everything is against any assumption that Tyrkir contrived anything of this sort and for the following reasons: (1) it is nowhere stated that he was drunk (Icel. *drukkinn* or the like); (2) there is no indication that Tyrkir was alone with his grapes for more than a few hours at most, in a word, nowhere near long enough to brew himself such a drink; and (3) he could not have got wine or any other alcoholic beverage from the natives, since alcohol was unknown to the indigenes of pre-Columbian America. In fine, not only was Tyrkir not drunk, but there is no indication that the author of *Grænlandinga þáttir* thought that he was. His somewhat odd behavior must be explained differently.

This may best be considered in terms of the psychological and physiological implications of the incident as described above: his return in good spirits, his talking German, rolling his eyes, followed immediately by an account in intelligible Norse of his exciting discovery of grapes. Here one probably only needs to imagine the feelings of a man brought up in Germany, living for many years in relatively barren Iceland and suddenly finding grapes, last seen long ago in his home-land. Under excitement or stress the lapse into one's mother-tongue, here German, is not unusual. Had Tyrkir's behavior been due to a mental or physical disorder, he would not immediately have talked good sense in the appropriate tongue, that is, Norse.

A word as to his physical characteristics: prominent forehead, loose eyes, small features, small build, and ill-favored looks. Enlargement of the frontal bone may be a sign of congenital syphilis or rickets, but the former probably did not appear in Europe until after the return of Columbus from the New World, and the latter not till the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁶ However, the congenital defect of hydrocephalus causes a very high forehead and enlargement of the head in childhood and has the effect of making

⁶ John Howland, "Etiology and Pathogenesis of Rickets," *Medicine*, II (1923), 349.

the features appear smaller by comparison. "Loose eyes" might be used to describe nystagmus, a swaying of both eyes from side to side, especially on lateral gaze. Nystagmus may be a congenital defect but may also be present in children afflicted with hydrocephalus.⁷ If marked hydrocephalus is present, the child dies, so one must assume that Tyrkir, if a victim of this malady, had suffered from a mild form of the disorder.

To sum up: it is certain that Tyrkir was not drunk and it is clear that he was excited by his discovery of grapes in the New World. It is possible that he was a small man who had a slightly enlarged head and nystagmus due to an arrested hydrocephalus in childhood, though it is equally possible that he was merely an unattractive little man with prominent forehead, small features, and shifty gaze. His behavior on return to Leif's camp does not suggest intoxication or physical or mental disorder of any kind but only momentary excitement.

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EINIGE BEMERKUNGEN ZU ADOLF WILBRANDTS DER MEISTER VON PALMYRA

In den *Modern Language Notes*, 34 (1919), 372, analysiert Friedrich Schöenemann, der sich—in seinen Anfängen—um die Mark Twain-Forschung verdient gemacht hat,¹ die Betrachtungen Mark Twains über den *Meister von Palmyra* in dessen Essay "About Play Acting," das zuerst im Oktober 1898 in der Zeitschrift *The Forum* erschien.

Es scheint jedoch, daß Schoenemann die Bemerkungen des amerikanischen Autors nicht an der Hand des Dramas selbst überprüft hat. Zwar widerspricht er Mark Twain; indem er sich aber von dessen Auffassung nicht frei machen kann, wird er, einmal auf Mark Twains Gedankengang hingelenkt, von dem richtigen Wege nur noch weiter abgedrängt.

⁷ A. G. Anderson, "Hydrocephalus," *Oxford Medicine*, VI (1921), 223.

¹ "Mark Twain als literarische Persönlichkeit." Jena, Frommann, 1925 (*Jenaer germanist. Forschungen*, hrsg. v. A. Leitzmann 8), 119.

Die nachfolgenden Ausführungen sollen dazu dienen, die nach des Verfassers Meinung mißverständliche Auffassung Schoenemanns richtigzustellen.

Das Interesse Mark Twains an diesem Drama wurde durch eine Aufführung im Burgtheater angeregt, der er während seines Wiener Aufenthaltes beiwohnte.² Es war eine jener Aufführungen, wie sie in dieser Vollendung nur das klassische Ensemblespiel der ältesten und ersten deutschen Nationalbühne in ihrer Glanzzeit darbieten konnte. So ist es natürlich, daß die Darstellung Sonnenthals (Apelles) und Roberts (Pausanias), oder der Stella Hohenfels (Zoe) einen tiefen Eindruck auf Mark Twain machen mußte, der in seiner Begeisterung eine solche Bühne und solche Künstler auch New York gewünscht hätte. Ob er allerdings wirklich dem gesprochenen Wort in der gehobenen Ausdrucksweise des Dramas soweit zu folgen imstande war, daß er den Sinn der Dichtung voll erfaßte, bleibe dahingestellt. Es liegt vielmehr nahe anzunehmen, daß er in das Drama hineindeutete, was seiner Auffassung und besonders, was seinem damaligen Gemütszustand entsprach—wozu noch kommt, daß das Stück dieser seiner Deutung auf halbem Wege entgegenkam.

Nun neigt gerade in dieser Zeit—in den letzten neunziger Jahren—Mark Twains Stimmung zum Pessimismus, wozu schon durch äußere Erlebnisse und Erfahrungen aller Anlaß gegeben war. Es ist bezeichnend, daß diese gedrückte Stimmung durch den unfehlbaren Zauber, den Wien auch auf Mark Twain ausübte und durch den Kontrast mit der heiteren Geselligkeit der Stadt, an der er gerne teilnahm, eher gesteigert als gemildert wurde. Alle Schriften, die in jener Zeit entstanden sind oder begonnen wurden, spiegeln diese Stimmung wider, vor allem: "What is Man?" und "The Mysterious Stranger." Ein innerer Zusammenhang mit Wilbrandts Drama wird also kein Zufall sein. Verwandte Saiten klingen in Mark Twain an, der sich nun das Werk des deutschen Dichters auf seine Weise zurechtlegt. Er sieht in dem Stück vor allem das Motiv der Seelenwanderung. Von diesem Gesichtspunkt aus erscheint ihm auch das Problem des Apelles—für Mark Twain nur eine unter anderen interessanten Gestalten. Er bringt sein Problem auf die einfache Formel: der Künstler wünscht sich

² Vgl. des Verfassers "Mark Twain in Vienna." *Mark Twain Quarterly*, 7 (1945) 1, 1-12.

ewiges Leben, aber, erzogen vom Leben, sehnt er sich nach dem Tod. (Bezeichnender Weise nimmt er die Zeitdauer für die Handlung mit etwa siebzig Jahren an, während sie sich doch über Jahrhunderte erstreckt.) Mark Twain trennt gleichsam die beiden Motive: Seelenwanderung—faustischer Drang nach Unsterblichkeit, und übersieht so, wie sie miteinander verknüpft sind. Nach Mark Twains Interpretation ist das Stück nur eine Antwort auf die Frage: Ist das Leben eine verfehltete Angelegenheit? In seiner damaligen Stimmung ist dies für ihn gar keine Frage. So sei denn das Drama nichts anderes als ein langes, inniges, höhnisches Gelächter auf das menschliche Dasein.³ Mark Twain ist allerdings seiner Deutung nicht ganz sicher. Vielleicht wollte der Dichter gar nicht über das Leben lachen. Er (Mark Twain) sehe es eben so.

Hiezu bemerkt Schoenemann, daß es allerdings nicht Wilbrandts Absicht gewesen sei, über das Leben zu lachen, weder zynisch, noch verzweifelt. Im Gegenteil, er habe sein Bestes getan, als Denker und Künstler, das größte Rätsel des Lebens zu lösen, nämlich das Leben selbst. Schoenemann zitiert als Beleg für diese Auffassung die Stelle (v, 3):

Nur der kann leben, der in andern lebt,
An andern wächst, mit andern sich erneut;
Ist das dahin, dann, Erde; tu dich auf,
Treib *neue Menschen* an das Licht hervor,
Und uns, die Scheinlebendigen, verschlinge!

und aus dem letzten Auftritt (v, 4) die Worte Zenobias:

. Erlösung dem,
Der, lang geprüft, des Lebens Rätsel und
Des Todes Lehre faßte!

Was meint Schoenemann mit seiner oben erwähnten Bemerkung? Was hat der Dichter und Denker Wilbrandt dazu getan, das Rätsel des Lebens zu lösen? Auf diese Frage bleibt Schoenemann die Antwort schuldig. Es scheint, daß sich für Schoenemann unter dem Einfluß der Interpretation Mark Twains Sinn und Fragestellung des Wilbrandtschen Dramas verschoben hat.

Im *Meister von Palmyra* handelt es sich nicht—wenigstens nicht

³ This piece is just one long soulful sardonic laugh at human life. Its title might properly be: *Is Life a Failure?*

in erster Linie, sondern allenfalls nur implicite—um die Frage nach dem Sinn des Lebens. Es ist vielmehr der Wunschtraum des ewigen Lebens, seiner unbegrenzten Dauer, der Apelles treibt, in faustischem Drang nach höchster Erfüllung, die engen Grenzen menschlichen Wirkens zu durchbrechen und ins Unendliche hinaus zu verlängern.

Das Drama ist sohin, wie auch Theodore Henckels in der Einleitung zu seiner schönen College-Ausgabe⁴ sagt, "a mysterious, Faust-like poem." Wie für Faust kommt auch für Apelles Lösung und Erlösung am Ende seiner Wanderung. Nachdem er Jahrhunderte gelebt, wünscht er den Tod herbei; doch nicht wie ein anderer Ahasver, weil er lebensmüde ist, sondern nur, um höherer Vollendung entgegenzugehen. Das "Wunderrätsel," das in mannigfachen Gestalten seinen Weg kreuzte—als Zoe und Phoebe, als Persida, Nymphas und Zenobia—enthüllt sich als die holde Flamme des vielgestaltigen Lebens" (v, 4):

Es springt des Lebens Geist von Form zu Form;
Eng ist des Menschen Ich, nur Eine kann es
Von tausend Formen fassen und entfalten,
Nur Eine Straße geh'n; drum tracht' es nicht
Ins lebenswimmelnde Meer der *Ewigkeit*,
Das *Gott* nur ausfüllt! Sollt' es dauern, müßt' es
Im *Wechsel* blüh'n wie du! Von Form zu Form
Das enge Ich erweiternd, füllend, läuternd,
Bis sich's in reinem Licht verklärt. So könnten wir
Vielleicht, allmählich, Gott entgegenreifen.

Das allegorisierende "Mysterium des in Wien an Grillparzer und Raimund Herangereiften"⁵ (Zoe—Leben, Pausanias—Schmerzstillter Tod) wurde seinerzeit vielleicht ebensosehr überschätzt, wie es heute—wohl mit Unrecht im Hinblick auf seinen Gedankeninhalt und die hohe Sprachkunst—fast vergessen ist.⁶ Das Wiener Burgtheater, dessen Direktor Adolf Wilbrandt mehrere Jahre lang (1881-1887) gewesen war, hat die hundertste Wiederkehr des Geburtstages des Dichters (1937) mit einer technisch und künstlerisch vollendeten Aufführung gefeiert, ohne allerdings—be-

⁴ American Book Company, New York-Cincinnati-Chicago 1900. S. 16.

⁵ Richard M. Meyer, *Die deutsche Literatur des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*. (Berlin, Georg Bondi, 1912), 438.

⁶ Eine englische Übersetzung in Prosa von Harriott S. Olive erschien in *Poet Lore* 13 (1901), 2, 247 ff.

zeichnenderweise für den Wandel des Geschmacks—das Stück damit dauernd wiederzubeleben. Es ließe sich aber wohl denken, daß die moderne Filmbühne, die in dem Stück zahlreiche dankbare kinotechnische Aufgaben fände, den *Meister von Palmyra* zu neuem Leben erwecken könnte, freilich nur auf Kosten seiner poetischen Schönheit und Wirkung. Diese aber würde sich auf einem solchen Umweg wieder manchem Leser erschließen.

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A NOTE ON SPENSER'S OROLOGY

In the fifth book of the *Faerie Queene*, Artegall meets the boasting giant with the scales, who proposes to reduce everything to an equality. Among other things, he plans to throw down the mountains and "equalize" the globe of the earth.

Therefore I will throw down these mountaines hie,
And make them levell with the lowly plaine:
These towring rocks, which reach unto the skie,
I will thrust downe into the deepest maine,
And as they were them equalize againe. (v. ii. 28. 1-5)

We notice, however, that while he is going to "equalize" the earth, he is also going to "equalize" it "again." In other words, the earth was at one time a smooth ball; then the mountains filled up the depressions now occupied by the sea. In this passage, Spenser may be simply imagining the state of the world after the elements had assumed their primary places at creation; he may, however, be thinking of something else.

In the *De sex dierum creatione liber* attributed to Bede, a man of the Renaissance could read that in the beginning the world was flat and more even than it is now.¹ Alcuin also stated that there were some men of his day who thought that the primitive earth was more regular and the mountains not so high.² This opinion is echoed by both Rabanus Maurus³ and Petrus Comestor.⁴ In the

¹ *Op. cit.*, PL, XCIII, 222; the modern text reads *plena* for *plana*.

² *Interrogationes et responsiones in Genesin*, PL, c, 530.

³ *Commentaria in Genesin*, PL, CVIII, 519.

⁴ *Historia scholastica*, PL, CXCIII, 1084-5.

Glossa ordinaria, which appeared in many Latin Bibles of Spenser's age, we read in the comment on Genesis 7: *Licet sint qui putent nec terrae qualitatem nec altitudinem montium tantam fuisse ante diluvium qualis et quanta est hodie*. The idea seems to have gained considerable currency by the beginning of the seventeenth century when it was attacked by David Pareus, who tells us of the non-sensical notion of those who say that before the Flood the earth was shaped like an apple and that the mountains were produced by the Deluge.⁵ The doctrine gained considerable repute towards the end of the seventeenth century when it became the basis of Thomas Burnet's *Theory of the Earth*.

DON CAMERON ALLEN

"TWO GOOD ANGLO-SAXON WORDS"

The following quotation from a news item in the Baltimore *Sun* of Jan. 31, 1946, p. 9, col. 2, includes the expression which gives title to this note:

Mr. France was asked what he meant by "tremendous pressure." "They are two good Anglo-Saxon words," he said. . . .

The worthy commissioner was not concerned with etymology here. He meant that the words needed no explanation; they explained themselves. In using them he was not beating about the bush, but speaking out, calling a spade a spade. His English was plain and to the point. For that reason he could characterize "tremendous pressure" as Anglo-Saxon. For him *Anglo-Saxon* means (among other things) 'plain English,' and can be applied to words of foreign origin, introduced into the language hundreds of years after the Norman Conquest. This meaning of *Anglo-Saxon*, though neglected by the dictionaries, is well established in current usage; see my paper in *RES* v (1929) 173 ff.

KEMP MALONE

⁵ *In Genesis Mosis* (Genevae, 1614), p. 804.

REVIEWS

Propalladia and Other Works of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro.

Edited by JOSEPH E. GILLET. 2 vols. Bryn Mawr: Pennsylvania (George Banta Publishing Company: Menasha, Wisconsin), 1943, 1946. Pp. 292, 565.

At the moment when we are lamenting the years that the locusts have eaten appears the second volume of an edition which in paper, print, accuracy and general perfection can have had few equals even in the palmiest days of pre-war publication. It is the result of many years of study and research, and the wealth of information and minute scholarship which it contains are an unending joy. The thoroughness of the work is indicated by the fact that two leaves missing from the Spanish Academy's recent (1936) edition of the "Propalladia" of 1517, in which they were replaced by leaves from the 1524 edition, are here supplied from the *editio princeps* at Copenhagen. The work is dedicated to Mr. Archer M. Huntington. The first volume consists of a brief foreword, over a hundred pages of bibliographical matter, divided into eight chapters, fifty-eight magnificent plates (title-pages, text and a beautiful binding of the 1526? edition) and 150 pages of Torres Naharro's minor poems. Of especial interest are the remarks concerning the censorship of the plays:

It should be remembered that in the history of Inquisition censorship instances of vindictiveness may be matched with others of surprising tolerance; that frequently instances of stupidity and caprice alternate with sharp insight and pitiless logic . . . It might be said that the work shows a somewhat erratic tolerance, or perhaps indifference, in all non-dogmatic matters. The grossness of the rustic, healthy enough in its way, is condoned, but his vocabulary is censored . . . The scene in which the *frayle* unfrocks himself in the *Soldadesca* is eliminated wholesale and all references to him and his religious activities are removed; but the medieval quip against the parish priest in the *Ymeneá* is tolerated . . . Yet nowhere is the Inquisitor quite relentless . . . It might be said that altogether the Inquisitor's attitude has been characterized by a generally good-natured indifference, occasional moments of interest and a sustained dogmatic concern (I. 69-71).

Torres Naharro did not, like Don Quixote, make a rosary of the tail of his shirt, but his epistle to his shirt (*Vete con Dios, camisa mía*) "may have seemed indecent."

Volume II is occupied entirely by the eight *comedias* (pp. 1-565). A third volume, of textual, historical and literary criticism, will complete this masterly work, of which the George Banta Publishing

Company has good reason to be proud, since it is not often that a great scholar is so splendidly presented.

In his Foreword Professor Gillet states that "Although Torres Naharro has been recognized as one of the most remarkable figures in the history of the modern European drama, his international significance is still generally ignored or underestimated." This Spanish contemporary of Gil Vicente is often as difficult to read as his Portuguese fellow playwright (scraps of French, long passages of Catalan, Italian and Latin and the vocabulary of the peasants make for confusion), and he lacks Vicente's lyrical genius (we have only to compare the attempts at lyricism, II. 107, 137, 186, 288, 321, 364, with the lyrics inserted in Vicente's plays), so that he is never likely to share the great Portuguese poet's popularity. But no Spanish scholar can afford to leave Torres Naharro's plays unread, for they are alive and filled with interesting detail. He shared Vicente's joy in the glory of King Manuel's reign and his delight in geographical names is that of Vicente and Milton. The spelling Ormuz for Ormuz (II. 96 and 117) seems to be due to a general substitution of Spanish N for Portuguese M, by which Santarem becomes Sanctaren (II. 464), unless we account for it as a misprint. Torres Naharro pays a glowing tribute to the courage and enterprise of the Portuguese in the "*Comedia Trophea*"; in the "*Comedia Tinellaria*" he extends their conquests beyond the terrestrial and notes that they consider God to be Portuguese. For their part the Spanish are "kings of the earth" (I. 234); they are "manigoldi, forfantaci" (II. 172) and in the "*Dialogo del Nascimento*" he celebrates their prowess in war and declares that Spain had never been so healthy, prosperous, and celebrated. He seems to have looked on the Peninsula as one country, and bestows equal praise on Seville and Lisbon; the achievements of the Spanish and the Portuguese in the New World were a joint glory.

Torres Naharro has the sympathy of Vicente and Cervantes for the genuine people, the peasantry, and it is this which gives a spice and charm to his plays. The peasants are presented naturally in both thought and language. Classical references occur, at that time they were inevitable (Lucan is described as "the good Cordobese"), but they are not obtrusive, although Apollo among the peasants of the "*Comedia Trophea*" is as out of place as are Bacchus and Venus in the "*Lusiads*." The peasant scenes are very genuine and local, bristling with more or less obscure allusions ("las colmenas de Lope" is of course not a reference to the unborn dramatist); although there are few explicit expressions of a love of Nature, the characters, as often in Spanish literature, are set in their natural frame and in the "*Comedia Jacinta*" there is a background of meadows, springs, crops, plough-land and fallow, gardens, hills and mountains" (II. 356).

Some of the observations are common to Torres Naharro and to

Cervantes two generations later: the shackles of poverty (*Haud facile emergunt*):

un pobre escudero,
como le sienten ruin capa,
aunque merezca ser papa
no le harán cocinero;

the indulgence due to "Yerros por amores"; the easy life of the friars (*Yd con Dios a trabajar*); the devout Catholic's criticism of the iniquities of Rome; the decay of faith (*la fe es falecida*); the demoralization of city life (II. 331, 394, 523); the maliciousness of critics (*las carniceras e inquietas lenguas*); the "bestial vulgo." The superiority of the Spanish infantry is described almost in the words of Cervantes (*de las buenas infanterias la mejor la española*. I. 139). He speaks out more clearly than Cervantes in his denunciation of those who condemn and satirize women (II. 349). Both agree that the life of the peasant (with abundance of bread and wine) is happier and healthier than that of the rich (II. 142).

Many a vivid touch throws the times into sharp relief: the mention, for instance, of the students who read by the light of the moon in order to economize their lamp-oil:

Los mozos de las escuelas
yrse a estudiar a la luna
por no gastar las candelas.

Crude and unliterary as Torres Naharro often is, he is rarely dull and dull indeed will be the reader who does not now take the opportunity of studying him in volumes so easily handled and in every way so attractive.

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Manuel de l'Anglais du moyen âge des origines au XIV^e siècle.

Par FERNAND MOSSÉ. I. Vieil-Anglais. Tome Premier: Grammaire et Textes. Paris: Aubier, MCMXLV. Pp. 345 + (3). Two planches and one folding table. Tome Second; Notes et Glossaire. *Ibid.* Pp. (6) + 347 + 548. = Bibliothèque de Philologie Germanique VIII.

Apart from the fact that this is probably the first textbook in Old English to be written in French for French universities it is also quite an unusual work. It combines a thorough descriptive (and to some extent comparative) grammar with a no less carefully composed textbook with notes and glossary. The first reminds one of the standard German grammars but gives us more: not only the

customary phonology and accidence (with word formation thrown in) but also a most unusual treatment of syntax, as well as appendices on poetic style and metrics, incorporating the theories of Sievers and Heusler. The textbook itself recalls the standard English and American textbooks with the obligatory notes and glossaries, but it has the very commendable additional feature of printing everywhere Latin originals and other parallels along with the texts whenever such originals are known and available.

Moreover, the whole book seems to be written not only with the French passion for logic and lucid presentation but also with strict care in detail and, as it seems, with unusual concern for the beginner. To that consideration we owe not only an informative bibliography at the head of the volume, but also a glossary of linguistic terms, a list which arranges the texts in the order of their difficulty, and a handy folding table with a synopsis of the chief paradigms.

In the grammar Mossé's interpretation of the short diphthongs (§ 12) is not the conventional one (Sievers-Luick-Wyld). He represents them as monophthongs: *ea* / æ /, *ie* / e or i /, *eo* / e / and explains them as attempts in Irish fashion to indicate the quality of a preceding or a following consonant (*c, g, sc* and *l, r, h* respectively). The assumption (§ 14) of a pronunciation / ndz / in *lengra, gingra* does not seem to me very plausible. In defining long and short syllables (§ 38) Mossé forgets the case where the syllable contains only a long vowel: *ā, þā*.

To say (in § 48) that *ge-cynd*, *ge-scȳ*, and *wēofod* are declined like *rice* is, of course, slightly misleading.

Though Mossé, in the preface, denies having made comparison with other Germanic dialects, not to mention the Indo-European languages, the fact is that he usually discusses the inflexional classes (stems) in terms of Indo-European (Latin-Greek) grammar, and in the case of the strong verbs, he actually explains their vocalism in Indo-European terms, which, of course, are much simpler than the complex systems found in the Germanic dialects. Yet it remains true that the grammar is primarily descriptive, not historical.

In the syntax, which on the whole seems admirably clear, there are a few points which call for comments. In discussing the genitive (§ 157) the author calls *þæs cyninges þegnas* adnominal genitive. Most grammarians would, I think, call this the possessive genitive, and, as a matter of fact, later on (§ 196, 5) Mossé actually speaks of the parallel *ūre fæder* as a possessive genitive. But what he calls possessive genitive in § 157 are such forms as *ic was micles cynnes*, which usually would be considered to be descriptive genitive. This is all the more peculiar, since his basic understanding of possessive seems to agree with the usual one, for instance when he classifies *him on þæt heafod* as a possessive dative. Under his

adnominal genitive one also finds *Pantan strēam* which I should prefer to call genitive of naming.

The theory that vocalic alliteration must rest on the existence of an initial glottal stop, though quite common, is doubtful in view of Modern Icelandic alliterative practice.

In choosing the texts Mossé has followed the established pattern rather than trying to be original. After some extracts from the gospels and Ælfric's *Colloquium*, which are normalized for the beginner, there follow Alfredian texts to illustrate him as a sponsor of the *Chronicle*, as educator, geographer, and legislator. This is followed by 10th century prose, including Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* as well as Ælfric's and Wulfstan's writings, and, to finish, a passage from the *Peterborough Chronicle*.

Then comes poetry of pagan inspiration: some charms and bits from *Beowulf*, which in turn is followed by lyric and elegiac poems. After that follows Biblical and Christian poetry to be in turn followed by a heroic poem (Battle of Maldon).

At the end there are a few texts illustrating the Old English dialects (Northumbrian, Mercian, and Kentish).

Every selection is headed by a concise introduction with bibliographical notices of editions and recent scholarly work. Some of these would doubtless be more up to date had it not been for the war. Thus the author has Malone's edition of *Dēor*, but not his articles on *Mæðhild* and *Gēat*, of which he knows nothing.

The notes are copious and excellent. Every text is first discussed from a linguistic point of view, forms of phonology and inflexion are adduced to determine the dialect. Such a study, though common in textbooks of Middle English, especially English ones, has been decidedly rare in textbooks of Old English.

Otherwise the notes discuss difficult points, realia, history, sources, and bring welcome references to the literature on the subject.

By a rather cursory reading I have noted only two errors in the notes, and that in the chapter on Ohthere and Wulfstan: *Bjarmir* for *Bjarmar* (p. 370, note 28) and *Hárfagr* for *hinn hárfagri* (p. 372, note 101).

The glossary is obviously well designed: grammatical forms are fully tagged and etymology indicated. Variant forms are given too. Perhaps the author has economized too much on the notoriously long entries; it seems to me that such instances as *weorðan* and *wesan* might profitably have been made to cover half a column or more instead of the few lines they actually fill up. I have done a little checking of references and not found any errors except one in the syntax (p. 150, line 11: 12 / 50 read: 13 / 50).

Altogether the book bids fair to take its place as a classic at French universities where English is taught. It might even in

translation well compete with current American textbooks in the field.

The only thing about the book which is really bad is the paper. But for that the War is to blame, not the publisher.

STEFÁN EINARSSON

Shakespeare and the Tragic Theme. By ARTHUR H. R. FAIRCHILD.
Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Studies, XIX, No. 2
(1944). Pp. 145. \$1.50.

This concentrated imaginative interpretation of Shakespeare's mature period stems from a school of critical thought that has had its main impetus in the works of G. Wilson Knight. Professor Knight's *Myth and Miracle*, *The Wheel of Fire* (1930), *The Imperial Theme* (1931), and *The Shakespearian Tempest* interpret the plays from their poetic atmosphere rather than from their dramatic structure. Professor Fairchild states in his preface that he presents Shakespeare not as the product of literary influence with historical background but as the product of an author independent of his contemporaries and unconstrained in his originality. From a subjective point of view, which is defined as a "development from within" (p. 89), Shakespeare saw universal life, not coming from God nor from the divine order of things, but from the heart of man (p. 90).

In separate interpretations of the four great tragedies: *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *King Lear*, and *Macbeth*, Fairchild presents the abstract thought that underlies each play. *Hamlet* is the symbol of adolescence in which character has not yet been formed but whose idealism quickens our hopes; *Othello* typifies the passion of sex-jealousy directed against the person originally loved; *King Lear* becomes for us a picture of the complete disintegration of family bonds; and *Macbeth* presents to us the transformation of a man of action into one of thought, "from an extrovert to an introvert" (p. 58). In treating these themes Fairchild does not point out what is good or bad, and does not see any problems of workmanship; one would believe that the plays were long narrative poems written in any age. He presents Shakespeare as a "participant in a movement of thought" that is not connected with any particular century.

The chapter entitled "Shakespeare's Unwritten Story" is the most original part of Fairchild's book. In conceiving his stories Shakespeare created in his mind first a story of positive good which would be pleasurably acceptable to his audience. For dramatic purposes he had to write stories of failures, but these weaknesses of the protagonist in their impact on the imagination of the listener

take on opposite meanings. We derive pleasure from Macbeth because we follow the degenerate actions of the play by a contrasting action in our subjective mind which presents him as a man who might have been a force for good in the world.

The unwritten story that Shakespeare implied in each of these cases is more important and more significant than the written story. This is a paradox, but true. It is in his unwritten story that Shakespeare has given us a new vision of an universal order. Here lies the final respect of his greatness. Here, not in historical background merely, is the true realm of criticism and appreciation; for it is only as we apprehend his unwritten story intellectually and accept it emotionally that we can be said to discern his dramatic and artistic motif and to read Shakespeare truly. (p. 76)

Schematically, according to Fairchild (p. 76), this means that as the course of the protagonist (as represented by a zigzag line) goes down, the spectator is rounding out an ascending arc in his mind. "The arc or perfect round is the positive side of a negative picture" (p. 77); the negative picture is, of course, what Shakespeare actually presents on the stage. Fairchild insists that these mental arcs in our minds are Shakespeare's original conception of the stories "if his tragic characters are to have meaning for us" (p. 78). Since these arcs occur, as a kind of psychological necessity, to the mind of anyone in any age who reads the plays, they indicate the universal appeal in Shakespeare to a high order of life. "As he reads, he thinks and speaks of Hamlet, Othello, Lear, and Macbeth that might have been." (p. 87) "The reader builds up in imagination ideal forms of character that are the counterparts of what he finds on the pages of his text." (p. 87) At the end of this chapter the author claims that by this interpretation "tragedy affords the strongest, the most exhilarating, and the most deeply pleasurable assurance of possible happiness and success in life that any art reveals to man." (p. 88)

The concluding chapter of Fairchild's work sums up the author's subjective interpretation of Shakespeare's tragic theme which is dominated throughout by a religio-philosophical meaning. As a participant in the external world the tragic characters are governed by the laws of the Cosmic Order which is a non-moral System. The tragic characters are highly individualized and fall into no molded types. Paradox enters into each of them because they seem to represent humanity but really do not. In Shakespeare, the heart of man is more important than the mind. This insistence on the subjective point of view reminds one of the Ulrici-Gervinus school of interpretation. This school inherited from Coleridge the intellectual bias which seeks meaning and significance everywhere and which construes the plays in terms of an inner law. Fairchild differs from this Romantic school of thought, however, in his dependency mainly on imagery to guide his interpretation. Though disclaiming any religious influence on the tragedies, Fairchild's

insistence on the emanation of the tragic theme from the heart of man and the recognition of a definite atmosphere as the true Shakespeare, amounts to a belief that the poet is a happily inspired genius who enjoys a loftiness and balance that places him outside the sphere of other men.

In what I have called his subjectivism, Shakespeare made his own choice, took his own stand. He sought no God external to himself, posited no immortality, envisioned no heaven of reward; but he revealed a divinity in man that is the groundwork of all morality and the substance out of which all religion is made. This is the essence of Shakespeare's tragic theme. (p. 140).

Aesthetic and historical interpretations have the same aims: to evaluate a work of literature, to define the chief qualities in a work of art, to show how it came to be what it is. These two allied branches are healthier when they are not kept apart. Fairchild insists on keeping his subjective point of view free from realistic, theatrical influences. He frankly is more interested in the image of things than in the things themselves. The danger of this attitude is that the interpretation becomes too individualized. Nothing seems to disturb the sense of logic that he derives from the atmosphere of the plays. Freytag explains the power in every spectator's mind of meeting the dramatist half way in his characterization (*Technique of the Drama*, p. 249); but when the critic strays in his aesthetic impressions away from the play as a play, the danger of misinterpretation or of attributing to the dramatist more than he intended is very great. This happens often in Fairchild's book. For example, after making the following observation on Shakespeare's tragic theme:

Shakespeare's is no schematised or sublimated device, as analysis might suggest; it has the higher consistency of art in its portrayal of tragic character. Not the immortal character, as we know him, not the wilfully criminal character, but the sentimentalist is revealed by Shakespeare as the most dangerous character in the world—to himself, to the world at large; and because he is so he holds first place, as protagonist, in the greatest and most impressive of all literary forms, a form which, almost fortuitously, man came to call tragedy. (p. 114)

Fairchild enters upon a theoretical discussion of the relationship of will to sentimentalism which is badly muddled in thought (pp. 115, 116, 117).

Fairchild's *Shakespeare and the Tragic Theme* does not pretend to give a factual or even a detailed analysis of the plays. His understanding of the meaning of the plays is derived, not from textual or historical evidence, but from thought-out impressions. Some sections are good, especially the chapters on *Othello*, *King Lear*, and *Macbeth*, where the author is apparently drawing information from the text. The rest of the interpretations are theoretical and individual in character. It is unfortunate that the section on

Hamlet had to come first in the book as it will be hard for any reader to accept Hamlet as an adolescent in his teens. More plausible is it to regard Hamlet as "the voice of a Renaissance grown middle-aged." (Theodore Spencer, *Death, and Elizabethan Tragedy*, p. 234).

This question of Hamlet's age, which among critics ranges from eighteen to thirty, is best explained as follows: Shakespeare in his earliest version treated Hamlet as a youth of twenty, but later additional interpolations of passages of mature thought by the dramatist finally led him to insert the line that definitely raises Hamlet's age to twenty-eight or thirty (v, i, 177), and to change "this dozen years" of the First Quarto (Bodley Head Quartos, vii, p. 65) to "three-and-twenty years" of the Folio (v, i, 190). This latter interpolation was moved forward some ten lines to refer unmistakably to Yorick's skull. Fairchild may be confusing the periods of life as understood in Shakespeare's time when he regards Hamlet as an adolescent. Hamlet fits into the fourth stage of life as described by Jaques in his *Septem Aetates Hominis*. This, according to the Eliot-Cooper Latin Dictionary¹ used in the Stratford school (folio 1552), is the *Juventus* stage of life, not *Adolescentia* which Eliot describes as "Youngage." According to this dictionary *Juventus* extended to the age of thirty-five. Furthermore, contrary to Fairchild's subjective impression of Hamlet as a man in the adolescent stage of life, there is much sombre material in the play that gives the reader the impression of an older man.

Professor Fairchild is to be commended for giving us the finely drawn characterization of Othello (Chapter II) and the interpretation of *King Lear* (Chapter III). They are both fresh and close enough to the text to be convincing.

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Outline of a Theory of Linguistic Change. By HARRY A. DEFERRARI. Washington, D. C.: Privately Printed, 1941. 21 pp.

The Statistical Study of Literary Vocabulary. By G. UDNY YULE. Cambridge, England: University Press. 1944. ix, 306 pp. \$6.00.

Dr. Deferrari's treatise is difficult to review since it seems to represent the deep intuitive insight of a learned scholar into the

¹ For Shakespeare's use of this Latin dictionary, see T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakespeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke*, 1944, I. 423; II. 122, 133, 142, 145, 146, 156, 160, 225, 234, 252, 276, 314, etc.

dynamics of linguistic change—an insight, however, which Dr. Deferrari neither expresses strictly nor tests with empiric rigor.

The thesis itself is as follows (p. 2): "Every language strives to be as clear (unambiguous) and forceful as is necessary for the welfare of the linguistic community, and it also strives to be so with a minimum expenditure of effort." The thesis consists of two parts, and we shall discuss the second part first.

With the contention, "it (*i. e.* language) strives to be so with a minimum expenditure of effort," the reviewer for one has no personal quarrel, since for years he has been studying the economy of language and is even now preparing for publication a treatise on the 'principle of least effort.' Moreover the long list of persons who have studied Maupertuis' *principle of least action*¹ will scarcely say that Dr. Deferrari is on the wrong track, however much they may wonder at his term, "effort" (is it *work*, *action*, or some new property of matter?), and however much they may marvel at the manner in which the factor of *time* is ignored. Without a strict definition of "effort," an empiric test is impossible.

The first part of the thesis is even more ambiguous: "every language strives to be as clear (unambiguous) and forceful as is necessary for the welfare of the linguistic community." What are the objective criteria of the "welfare of a linguistic community"? What are the objective criteria of that which is "as clear as necessary" for said welfare. Without those criteria, empiric test is impossible. In a way Dr. Deferrari's thesis reminds one of "Occam's Razor" of William of Occam: "*Essentia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem*," a verbalism with which we all more or less agree subjectively, even though few would care to undertake the intellectual task of defining *essentia* or *necessitatem*.

The same ambiguity attaches to his theoretical elaboration (p. 2 ff.). For example, he says that "linguistic change is due to three main forces: 1. assimilation (simplification); 2. the reaction against assimilation; and 3. the need for forcefulness (vividness)." Or again (p. 3): "Linguistic change is caused by assimilation and the reaction against assimilation." Well—what is the right amount of similarity and diversity in speech so that we shall have the right amount of "forcefulness (vividness)"? What constitutes equilibrium between these three forces? Let us have some actual cases.

Turning to Dr. Deferrari's sets of examples (p. 3 ff.)—they are by no stretch of the imagination empiric proofs—I do not see that they even serve to provide the reader with a much needed clarification of the principle in Dr. Deferrari's mind. Linguistics has long known of the phenomena of assimilation and dissimilation, and has supposed offhand that they were the effect of opposing tenden-

¹ First published, Maupertuis, Pierre L. M. de, *Essai de Cosmologie*, Amsterdam, 1750; see also, Gibson, W. R. B., "The principle of least action as a psychological principle," *Mind*, N. S. ix (1900), 469-495.

cies. That Dr. Deferrari has said anything more than that with his data is not clear to the present reviewer.

At the end of his study (p. 21), Dr. Deferrari summarizes: "we may state that the basic cause of linguistic change is the interplay of the two urges (almost wholly unconscious), the one for effectiveness (clarity), and the other for the conservation of energy." Here one must be careful. If by the urge for the "conservation of energy" Dr. Deferrari means his erstwhile "minimum expenditure of effort," then—if his usage of the term, minimum, is that of a *dynamic minimum* in the physical sense—there will be no "interplay" with it; instead it will remain the *single superlative*² of all linguistic action (if his "effort" means anything, and if his minimum is the correct one).

Yet there is one point about Dr. Deferrari's treatise that is conspicuous and for which he deserves great praise: he at least has the intellectual courage to ask a big question, and to state a point of view. The fact that it is a verbalization does not mean that he therefore can not make it empiric. His present treatise is an outline. We shall look forward to the more complete statement.

Dr. Yule is a statistician of international reputation whose textbook on statistical theory (with Dr. Kendall) is fundamental.³ Hence his book under review offers an opportunity to watch a genuinely great statistician treat a literary problem to which he quite obviously brings a deep personal interest and a very considerable literary scholarship.

Dr. Yule's specific question is: Did Thomas à Kempis write the *De Imitatione Christi*, or is it, as many have maintained, the work of some other author? Dr. Yule's method of answering this question is statistical, and, as such, it may have a wide methodological applicability in the entire problem of comparing styles.

Dr. Yule's first statistical attempt to answer this question appeared some years ago: "On sentence-length as a statistical characteristic of style in prose: with application to two cases of disputed authorship," *Biometrika*, xxx (1938), 363-390. Dividing sentence-lengths into classes of 1-5 words, 6-10 words, 11-15, and so on, he analyzed two samples each from Macaulay's *Essays* and Lamb's *Elia* and *Last Essays of Elia* where he found in each case that the samples from the same author agreed fairly closely while differing from those of the other. Then he applied his method to the *De Imitatione* and to the known writings of Thomas and Gerson. On the basis of the criterion of sentence-lengths, he found

² For a discussion of the necessity for a single superlative (*maximum*, *minimum*) in social dynamics and speech, I trust that I shall not appear objectionable if I mention: Zipf, G. K., "The unity of nature, least-action, and natural social science," *Sociometry*, v (1942), 48-62.

³ Yule, G. Udny and Kendall, M. G., *An introduction to the theory of Statistics*, 12 edition. London, England: Charles Griffin, 1940.

that the *De Imitatione* agreed more closely with the style of Thomas than with that of Gerson. And he found that sentence-length may in general be a characteristic of style in prose (although he admits that the problem of 'what is a sentence?' is a knotty one).

The present book is a continuation of his study of the authorship of the *De Imitatione* and also of the general problem of further statistical characteristics of style. This time he examines the distribution of nouns in the *De Imitatione* as well as in the writings of several authors including the known writings of Thomas and Gerson.

As to the specific question of the authorship of the *De Imitatione*, Dr. Yule's data unmistakably warrant his conclusion (p. 278): "The results, it seems to me, almost exclude the possibility of Gerson as the author, but are entirely consistent with the authorship of Thomas à Kempis. One cannot of course go further and say that the authorship of Thomas à Kempis is proved, for statistical data can only balance the claims of one author against those of another: but our evidence quite confirms the poetic simile of Rosweyd in his *Vindiciae Kempenses*: 'Non rosa rosam magis redolet, quam liber *de Imitatione Christi* similis est reliquis Thomae à Kempis scriptionibus.'"

Dr. Yule admits (p. 281) that his work is incomplete in many respects. He particularly regrets that information is lacking for the distribution of verbs and adjectives. The purpose of the present book, he says, is to elicit criticism and to stimulate further studies. Undoubtedly Dr. Yule's method of studying the frequency-distribution of nouns can be applied to those of other parts of speech of any sets of styles.

However valuable his study may be to students of Gerson, Thomas and the *de Imitatione*, it is of tremendous interest as an application of statistical method to stylistic problems. Although nearly a third of the book (chaps. 2-5) is devoted to a closely reasoned statistical discussion of the problem of style, his actual formula (the 'characteristic k') can be applied to a stylistic problem of the above sort without any particular knowledge of statistical theory. In other words the non-mathematical student of style can ascertain the 'characteristic k' of a given style without knowing how Dr. Yule arrived at his formula, if he is willing to use the formula on faith, and if he is willing to make the underlying frequency-count.

Naturally an important study like Dr. Yule's also raises the question as to the reason why different individuals should show consistent preferences for particular parts of speech. Thus why does one person express himself to a greater extent in nouns and consistently so? * Although Dr. Yule does not address himself to

* Cp. Sanford, F. H., "Speech and personality: a comparative case study," *Character and personality*, x (1942), 169-198.

this problem, his data show that such preferences are the case. And that fact alone is of considerable interest to the student of the dynamics of speech.

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Niederdeutsche Mitteilungen. Hrsg. v. d. Niederdeutschen Arbeitsgemeinschaft zu Lund. Jahrgang I (1945). Lund: Gleerup, 1945. Pp. 93.

Die mittelniederdeutschen Texte des 13. Jahrhunderts. Beiträge zur Quellenkunde und Grammatik des Frühmittelniederdeutschen. Von GUSTAV KORLÉN. [Lunder germanistische Forschungen. Bd. 19] Lund: Gleerup, 1945. Pp. 252.

Die im Oktober 1944 an der schwedischen Universität Lund ins Leben gerufene 'Niederdeutsche Arbeitsgemeinschaft' legt nunmehr das erste Heft ihrer Zeitschrift vor. So weit ersichtlich steht im Vordergrund ihres Interesses die Erforschung der Kulturzusammenhänge aller am Rande der Westbaltik siedelnden Völker. Das Niederdeutsche fällt somit in den Bereich der Betrachtung, so weit es Exportartikel geworden ist. Wodurch die Zeitschrift davor geschützt sein sollte, Organ allzu lokaler Interessen zu werden. Der Begriff einer westbaltischen Kultureinheit, deren politischer Motor ja die Hanse ist, kann zweifellos zu höchst fruchtbaren Erkenntnissen führen, die Strahlungsstärke und Weite der Kulturzentren Bremen—Lübeck—Wismar harrt ja noch genauer Messungen. Mir ist bloß bange vor einem neuen Segment, aus dem Leibe Deutschlands geschnitten und zum 'Baltikum' geschlagen, als seien die Bande, die die Hanse mit dem deutschen Hinterland verbinden, schwächer als die überseeischen. Doch soll jede ernstliche Beschäftigung mit deutschem Kulturschaffen ausserhalb Deutschlands wärmstens begrüßt werden.

Zwei von den sechs Aufsätzen des Heftes sind dem Import anderssprachigen Wortguts ins Schwedische gewidmet: Ahldén untersucht das ältere westgötische *Landrecht* von ca 1280. Das Ergebnis ist eine Meistbegünstigung des Englischen, zu der die politischen Tatsachen stimmen; für lateinische Rechtsbegriffe sind westgermanische, aber nur selten einfach nd. Zwischenglieder gesichert.—Weit reicher ist der Fund an nd. Lehnwort in den 1474 begonnenen *Gedenkbüchern von Stockholm*, worüber Bååth berichtet. Da damals einer der Stockholmer Stadtschreiber nd. Abstammung war, Kenntnis des nd. Schriftdialekts bei fast allen seinen schwedischen Kollegen gesichert ist, kann man gradezu von einer nd. Kanzleisprache reden, deren Reichweite genau der der Hanse

entspricht, und deren Heimat natürlich das Kontor der Hanse ist. Von da aus dringt nd. in die genannte Stockholmer Stadtchronik ein.—Marta Åsdahl liefert anlässlich des Berichts über eine mnd. Version des Volksbuchs von *Paris und Vienna* interessante sprachliche Details.—Besonders förderlich ist die Dialekt-Untersuchung Erik Rooths an einem im schwedischen Reichsarchiv liegenden lat.-nd. *Vokabular*, das in Anlage, Sprache und Alter dem bei Diefenbach unter Nr. 11 beschriebenen *Vokabular* Johann Brummers von 1420 nahe steht. Rooth weist anhand von Lautstand und Wortmaterial Ursprung im westlichen Teil des Südwestfälischen nach. Methodologisch ist besonders beachtlich, daß Wredes Sprachkarten oft für fünfhundert Jahre ältere Abgrenzungen gelten, wenn man nur auf etwaige politische Machtverschiebungen innerhalb des betreffenden Sprachgebiets achtet.—Am Ende des schönen Heftes findet sich eine liebevolle Besprechung der Dissertation von Grunewald über *Die mnd. Abstraktsuffixe* aus der Feder Korlén, der in einem eigenen Band eine Liste und Beschreibung der *Mittelniederdeutschen Texte des 13. Jahrhunderts* vorlegt.

Wer die Geschichte des Mittelhochdeutschen vor Augen hat, wird sich daran stossen, daß Korlén im Untertitel seinen Texten aus dem 13. Jahrhundert das Attribut 'frühmittelniederdeutsch' zuerkennt. Man muß sich aber vergegenwärtigen, daß zu ein und derselben Zeit die Kunstsprache des deutschen Südens spätmittelhoch-, des Nordens frühmittelniederdeutsch ist, weil die Ritterkultur Oberdeutschlands schon im Sinken ist, als die Stadtkultur des Nordens aufblüht. Korlén's Texte sind vornehmlich Urkunden, Stadtbücher, Rechtssammlungen, oder, soweit sie literarisch sind, Predigten und Chroniken; Dokumente, die der Praxis des kommerziellen oder religiösen Lebens dienen, und nicht der Verschönerung des höfischen Festes. Man braucht ja nur an die literarische Großtat Niederdeutschlands zu erinnern, an Eikes von Repgow beide Werke, *Sachsenspiegel* und *Weltchronik*—der letzteren widmet Korlén 20 Seiten—, deren nüchterne Sachlichkeit um eine ganze Welt verschieden ist von der gezierten Transzendenz des nur wenig älteren *Iwein*.

Daß damals neben dem magdeburgischen das Lübecker Recht die weiteste Geltung besaß, ist seit langem bekannt; auch daß dieses selbst wieder auf dem Stadtrecht des westfälischen Soest fusst. Aber kaum einem mag gegenwärtig sein, worauf Korlén aufmerksam macht, daß somit die *Rechtssprache* des Ostseeraums auf dem Westfälischen beruht. So spürbar im literarischen Nd., zumal der ostfälischen Quellen, hochdeutscher Einfluß ist, er schwindet völlig in den Rechtsquellen. Bezeichnend dafür ist die Ordensstadt Elbing. Die Sprache des Ordens ist ein klares Md., wie es die früheste Elbinger Urkunde von 1286 zeigt. Aber der Elbinger *Rechtskodex* weist deutliche nd. Züge westfälischer Herkunft auf, wozu stimmt, daß unter der Bevölkerung westfälische Namen recht

häufig sind. Wahrscheinlich hat Lübeck die westfälischen Kolonisten aufgenommen, die dann erst in einem zweiten Schube ins ostelbische Kolonisationsgebiet weiter gezogen sind. Ich habe auch erst von Korlén gelernt, daß das *Ottonianum* (= Braunschweiger Stadtrecht) in die erste Hälfte des 13. Jh. gehört, also als ältestes nd. Stadtrecht zu betrachten ist; wohl zu trennen von der ältesten nd. Originalurkunde, der Hildesheimer *Ritterurkunde* von 1272 (Korlén 53 f.) Übersetzungen anhand latein. Vorlagen sind natürlich schon lange vor dieser Zeit belegt, am wichtigsten mag die *deutsche* Ausfertigung der latein. Rechtsfassung des Lübecker Rechts aus dem Jahre 1267 sein.

Das sprachliche Gesamtbild der behandelten Periode stimmt gut zu den Ergebnissen A. Laschs in ihrem Aufsatz 'Vom Werden und Wesen des Mittelniederdeutschen' im *Nd. Jahrbuch* 51, 55 ff. und sollte Mitzkas *Nordostdeutsche Sprachgeschichte* (Halle 1937) in manchem Detail modifizieren, insbesondere in dem der Abgrenzung md. und nd. Einflusses auf ostelbische Sprachlandschaften.

ARNO SCHIROKAUER

The Shelley Legend, by ROBERT METCALF SMITH, in collaboration with MARTHA MARY SCHLEGEL, THEODORE GEORGE ERSHAM, and LOUIS ADDISON WATERS. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1945. Pp. xiv + 343. \$5.00.

The aim of Professor Smith and his collaborators is, according to the Preface, to expose what they believe to be "the fraudulent and mistaken efforts to turn the romantic, pagan Shelley, as Hogg, Peacock, and Trelawny knew him in the flesh, into a Victorian angel suitable for enshrinement among the gods of respectability and convention." Their book is divided into five parts: Part I deals with Mary Shelley's struggle to establish the poet's fame during her lifetime; Parts II and III are a study of the handwriting of Shelley and his circle, and of the forging of Shelley, Keats, and Byron manuscripts by the notorious Major Byron, self-styled son of Lord Byron and a Spanish countess. The exposure of Major Byron's methods of forging and disposing of his creations is, to me, the most interesting and valuable contribution in the volume. Part IV is largely concerned with an attack upon Sir Percy and Lady Shelley for their efforts to maintain the popular concept of Shelley's character established by Mary before her death in 1851. However unfortunate these attempts may have been, it is doubtful if most readers will be convinced of Professor Smith's position that Lady Shelley misled Dowden and other biographers by deliberately referring to family papers which she knew to be forged. Part V

traces the unfortunate and rather comic history of the Shelley Society, and discusses examples of forgery and fraud in later Shelley biographical material. A "Check List of Shelley Publications for Private Distribution by Forman, Wise, and Others" in the Appendix will be useful to Shelley students and to those interested in the publishing activities of Mr. Wise and his friends.

Such a book, dealing with many points of biographical detail, is bound to contain much that is controversial, as its authors recognize; they should, therefore, have left no stone unturned to establish their conclusions before committing themselves to publication. While they have painstakingly collected new material, and re-examined the authenticity of much that has been known and accepted for a long time, it is regrettable that their conclusions, many of which are based on a study of handwriting, are not more convincing.

The book fails to carry conviction principally because of two weaknesses. First, most of the documents which they discuss have not been examined in the original, but in photostat. Therefore, the important evidence of paper, ink, postmarks, and seals has not been used. It is obvious, of course, that the book was written during the war years when many manuscripts were unavailable for study; but it was not published until November, 1945, and the authors could, therefore, have had access to some of the originals, and might have clinched a good many of their arguments. On this point Professor Smith quotes the opinion of Mr. Theodore Besterman that the authenticity of the originals could probably be satisfactorily proved once and for all by laboratory tests. As it is, there is still much to be done before the authors' contentions regarding the forging of important Shelley documents will be accepted by many scholars. These documents include Shelley's letters to Mary of December 15-16, 1815 and January 11, 1817, regarding the unfaithfulness of Harriet Westbrook. The second difficulty lies in Professor Smith's many inconsistencies. An example is his pointed suggestion (on pages 112, 122) that Mary Shelley not only knew of and condoned the forging of Shelley manuscripts, but may actually have been guilty of forgery herself, although (on page 77) he states that Mary appeared at no time to suspect she was buying forgeries. Furthermore, his book is full of the very kind of intemperate subjective statements that he inveighs most strongly against in others.

In a book which so often takes pains to point out the minor errors and lapses in judgment of other scholars, we should hardly expect to find so many mistakes of a similar kind as we do here. In addition to a good many errors in proofreading, I note the following: a paraphrase of several passages from Maud Rolleston's *Talks with Lady Shelley* printed as a direct quotation from Lady Shelley (p. 145); a passage from a Mary Shelley letter quoted from Mrs. Marshall's text in which proper names are omitted, rather than from

the edition of F. L. Jones where the same letter is printed in its entirety (p. 24); a "misstatement" by Paston and Quennell that Claire Clairmont died at the age of eighty, which is no misstatement at all, on the basis of Professor Smith's own evidence (p. 215); Ethel Colburn Mayne, the biographer of Byron, referred to as "Ethel Coburn Mayne" (p. 221); Godwin, called the "father-in-law" of Claire Clairmont (p. 244), and Hermann Vezin, the actor, referred to as "Mr. Vegin" (p. 269).

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American Diaries: An Annotated Bibliography of American Diaries Written Prior to the Year 1861. Compiled by WILLIAM MATTHEWS with the assistance of ROY HARVEY PEARCE. *University of California Publications in English.* Volume 16. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1945. Pp. xiv + 383. Cloth, \$4.00; paper, \$3.50.

Here is listed in the chronological order of initial entries all the published diaries from 1629 to 1860. In the Preface Mr. Matthews states that in order to keep the number within reasonable publication limits the choice of diaries has been restricted to those written in English, or translated into English, including only those "that have been published completely or in part." He has also included anonymous diaries. Although credit is given to Harriete M. Forbes's *New England Diaries, 1602-1800* as an "invaluable, sometimes inaccurate bibliography," most of the entries have been obtained from dozens of other lists and indexes. It is apparent that, apart from the diaries in books, many items have been obtained from the publications of the historical societies, of which Channing, Hart, and Turner mention over seventy in their *Guide*. By definition Mr. Matthews has distinguished between the "diary" as a "day-by-day record of what interested the diarist . . . [and was] written for personal reasons," and the "journal" which was "kept as part of a job . . . [and was] rarely altogether personal." In his listing, however, he has not strictly observed this distinction, for "journal" is used as often as "diary" in the annotations. One finds frequent use of such terms as "travel journal," "military journal," "treaty journal," "interpreter's journal," "missionary journal," "sea journal," and others. He has, however, confined the entries to daily or periodic records, excluding autobiographies and reminiscences.

For each diary there are careful statements about its periodicity and the best published edition. The analytical comments indicate

the nature of the contents. The occasional critical comments might well have been omitted. Since few of the diaries have literary merit or contain vivid anecdotes, such adjectives as "interesting" and "dull" indicate the compiler's personal judgment, which may differ from that of the reader. To me Byrd's *Secret History* is not "dull"; to the student of the Great Awakening Whitefield's missionary journals would not make "dull reading"; the student of Puritanism would read carefully Cotton Mather's religious journal, undeterred by "the monotony of its endless introspection." The student of American literature will not thumb the pages of this bibliography to secure specimens of literary vivacity or excellence, for he already knows the diaries or journals by Bradford, Winthrop, Sewall, Byrd, Woolman, Irving, Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, and others.

Inspired by Miles L. Hanley, an authority on the English language in the United States, Mr. Matthews seems to have had an initial interest in spelling forms and word usage—and this is a worthy interest. More study should be made of Americanisms written by the cultured and the unlettered. Other students, especially social historians, are gathering material on Indian ornaments, the Moravians, pirates, Loyalists, colonial college life, itinerant preachers, Dutch customs, Quakers, early theatres, the militia, Yankee school teachers, and other matters of special interest, and this bibliography is a seedbed. Here is America speaking.

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Berte aus grans pies. By ADENET LE ROI. Edited by URBAN T. HOLMES, JR. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, no. 6, 1946. Pp. 109. \$1.50.

Since both previous editions of this text have become difficult to obtain, a new version using all known manuscripts is most welcome, and Holmes, though his introduction has been limited by untoward circumstances, gives us a thoroughly competent one. His edition indeed could be used to good purpose in teaching Old French. As Adenet himself says, "li vers sont bien duit"; they are also comparatively regular, easy to understand, and above all they present an unusually entertaining and well-designed story. The poem moreover lends itself to the study of numerous interesting problems, e. g. Adenet's literary contribution in wedding the old epic material to the later *roman d'aventure*, his stylistic peculiarities, his exten-

sive geographical knowledge, his references to contemporary customs, weapons, clothes, etc.

Despite the fact that two of the manuscripts, A and D, offer many different spellings and some different readings, the editor tells us that they were both copied by the same scribe. If vagaries such as those noted in the variants are possible in the case of a single copyist, then it would seem likely that we ordinarily posit too many Xs and Ys in our stemmata. Medieval scribes, as is well known and is here seemingly demonstrated, allowed themselves so many liberties in the copying of vernacular manuscripts that it seems quite likely some of the variants as well as some of the so-called evidences for "relationships" must be attributed to chance. One wonders in the circumstances whether the editor was justified in choosing D rather than A as the basis for his text on the assumption that its divergences from the group ABCEFG represent "a more independent and perhaps an earlier copy" (p. 13): may they not equally well represent the gratuitous contributions of the copyist? In any case one wishes that Holmes had given a more detailed description of A and D and had summarized at greater length the results of his own comparisons.

No certain misprints have been detected in the poem. One would expect *mar*, not *car*, in 948 and *ne*, not *no*, in 1414. Needed punctuation is missing in ll. 2591, 2820, 2958. Punctuation is of course a somewhat personal matter, but in a number of cases where there is a change of subject, without apposition or any coordinating particle being involved, periods or semicolons would seem to be preferable to commas (e. g. in ll. 1340-3, 1346, 2880, 3049, 3090, 3221). The notes seem adequate; a reference to A. Blanchet et A. Dieudonné, *Manuel de numismatique française*, might have been included in that to 1763, and the statement on p. 17 describing the omission of final *-nt* as scribal should have been equated with the note to 2519-20 which indicates that *-nt* was silent for Adenet as well as for his copyist. The glossary is full and helpful.¹ In short, despite a necessarily curtailed critical apparatus, here is a good edition of an important Old French poem.

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¹ A few details regarding the glossary are mentioned for what they may be worth. I should have glossed *antie* 2622, *assenement* 1204, *chasesment* 1194, *desfenc* 2737, *devenres* 6, *gentelise* 2380, *glyse* 2540, *irascu* 2393, *luite* 918. *Bloi* 1495, *blond*, and *bloe* 850, *blue*, *livid*, should not have been glossed together. Under *euwage* 1519 read "dwellers" rather than "dwelling." In 984 the text has *feugiere*, the glossary *feugere*. *Rendu* 3341 seems to mean "a monk who has not been ordained." On *mer betée* see Tobler-Lommatzsch, *Altfr. Wörterbuch*.

BRIEF MENTION

Sprichwörter des Mittelalters. By SAMUEL SINGER. I, pp. viii, 198; II, pp. 203. Bern: Herbert Lang Cie. 1946. These two volumes mark an epoch in the study of proverbs. Until now it has been difficult and often impossible to assemble adequate information about medieval proverbs and in the absence of such information any comparative or historical study has rested on a shaky foundation. The standard national collections usually dealt with medieval materials in a stepmotherly fashion; the modern collections devoted exclusively to the middle ages were either antiquated or incomplete; the editions of medieval collections were widely scattered and varied greatly in quality. There was no convenient list of the sources of medieval proverbs. With all of these handicaps scholars have not progressed very far with the study of medieval proverbs. Professor Singer's admirable compilation clears away these difficulties. The promised third volume for the period between 1200 and 1500 will complete this indispensable tool.

These two volumes consist of notes on the medieval collections made before 1200. Although they do not repeat the texts of these collections, the essential portion is cited and intelligibility is not impaired. The arrangement is that of the original collections and indexes make reference easy. The very rich comparative notes are not limited to the citation of other collections. They range widely over Italian, French, Spanish, English, German, and Latin narrative and didactic texts in prose and verse. Professor Singer often goes beyond assembling parallels and endeavors to establish the time and place of origin for a proverb. An adequate review of the details would extend to many pages and it is enough to say that these volumes are a *must* for the student of proverbs.

Professor Singer announces his thesaurus of medieval proverbs, on which he has been working for many years. Students of proverbs will eagerly await its appearance.

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